

Kids and Contraceptives

The alarming rate of teenage pregnancy and the inexorable spread of AIDS has raised troubling moral questions and given new urgency to the debate over how best to protect our children

In Boston, where 13 percent of all births in 1983 were to girls 19 and under, the controversy over a plan to distribute birth-control devices in the city's schools is intense. The same kind of furor has accompanied the opening of many clinics that dispense contraceptives or provide family-planning counseling in at least 76 schools around the country. "We have no choice," says School Committee member Abbie Browne, the mother of two teenagers, who favors the plan. But fellow committee member Joe Casper, a father of five, is adamantly opposed to giving condoms to teenagers. "What are we going to do next?" he says. "Put them on for them, too?"

On national television, the 17-year-old hero of "Valerie" lusts after his sultry blond girlfriend. They get into bed together. But there's a little hitch: she doesn't have "protection." The boy decides to postpone their lovemaking until he can buy some condoms. Later, when his mother finds the package of contraceptives, they have a heart-to-heart talk. "Just make sure whatever you do, it's the right time in your life," she advises her son.

Every week more than 130 girls—some of them as young as 12—receive birth-control pills at one of the three clinics for teenagers run by the Chicago Board of Health. Peer pressure to have sex is unrelenting in the South Side ghetto, says director Cheryl Walker. "If a girl gets to be 15 or 16 years old and she hasn't had a baby yet, [her friends think] there must be something wrong with her," Walker says. So Walker takes the angry words of the critics

in stride. "We holler when 12-year-olds come in here for contraceptives," she says. "But we holler louder when they come in here pregnant."

Contraceptives in the schools. Teenagers using condoms on television. Twelve-year-olds receiving birth-control pills—at the taxpayers' expense. A decade ago it would have been unthinkable. But the alarmingly high rate of teenage pregnancy and the fear of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases have opened up the debate over what to do about the precocious sexual activity of young people; what was once a matter of morality has become a matter of public health. Politicians, educators, doctors and parents have the best interests of their children at heart. And everyone, it seems, wishes that their kids would just say no to sex until they understand the possible consequences. But that's as far as the agreement goes: Abstinence? More sex education? Free access to contraceptives? What is best for the kids—and for all of us?

The statistical portrait of sex and the American teenager will stagger many parents. Each year for the past decade, more than a million teenage girls have become pregnant. Even though the teenage-pregnancy rate has remained fairly steady for the last few years, it is still very high—indeed, it is the highest in the Western world. The number of illegitimate births has soared. In 1984, 56 percent of teen births were out of wedlock, compared with only 15 percent in 1960. About 500,000 teenagers actually become mothers each year; the rest of the pregnancies end in miscarriages or abortions. A shocking one-third of all abortions performed annually



Looking for love: Two high-school students in a

A Market for Little Guys



There's no reason to suspect that the sudden run-up in cheaper stocks will end soon

The little guy is coming back to the market, they say. Back to the lower-priced stocks he loves. Back to high-tech, low-tech and biotech. Back to his dreams. Back to be fleeced. Because that's the other thing they say about the little guy: that he always comes soldiering back at exactly the wrong moment. Any stock market that attracts you and me is supposedly riding for a fall—so how can we trust our itch to buy? I'm as wary as Groucho Marx, who said he wouldn't belong to any club that was willing to take him as a member.

In truth, the little guy's record isn't all that bad. If mutual funds are a clue to his state of mind, the individual investor sold stocks during most of the frustrating 1970s when the market made no net advance. In the early 1980s he started feeding money back in. And although major bear markets are always preceded by heavy speculation, the excesses don't always come in the lower-priced stocks. In 1972, for example, it was the glamour issues that boiled over.

From 1976 to 1978, the secondary stocks surprised everyone by holding steady while the major market averages declined, reports analyst Anthony Tabell of the Princeton-based investment adviser, Delafield, Harvey, Tabell.

All of which is to say that there's no historic reason for the little guy to think it's too late to join the glorious run in the secondary stocks (broadly defined as companies not included in the 30 Dow Industrials or in Standard & Poor's 500). The NASDAQ composite index of over-the-counter stocks rose 12.4 percent in January, almost a one-month record. High-technology issues are up 23.4 percent since the first of this year, compared with only 2.9 percent all last year.

And high time too, say the security analysts that specialize in them. Technology stocks have been flat on their backs since the wild run-up, and inglorious bust, of 1983. During last fall they finally started perking up once again—stirred, explains technology analyst Jon Gruber of Montgomery Securities, by unexpectedly large earnings gains for some of the

companies, especially Tandem Computers and DEC.

What's moving the fastest? Not the makers of big, mainframe computers like IBM. The growth seems to lie in the more specialized companies, selling computerized work stations or software for linking computers together. Stocks for computer design and engineering companies jumped 43 percent during the first few weeks of this year; for specialty computers, 39 percent, and for large semiconductor manufacturers, 29 percent, reports Hambrecht & Quist.

"But technology is a rapidly changing industry which adds to the volatility of these stocks," warns Dick Frucci, portfolio manager for Putnam's Information Sciences Trust, one of the top-performing mutual funds. Today, desktop machines are matching what only the mainframe computers could do 10 years ago. Next year, buyers will no doubt be flirting with something newer still.

Although high-tech is the biggest story on the over-the-counter markets, the savings-and-loan stocks are a close second, notes Douglas Jones, portfolio manager for New Beginning Growth Fund, the top-performing small-company growth fund last month. OTC banking shares are up 16.5 percent so far this year, on hopes of lower interest rates.

Norman Fosback of Market Logic in Ft. Lauderdale offers these rules for buying high-tech and other OTC stocks:

- Look for those whose price-earnings ratio is less than that of the market averages. This approach keeps you out of the speculative issues and focused on shares that, with any luck, have a lot of running room. The average p-e for the Standard & Poor's 500 today is 18.5.

- Look for companies that are owned by a few mutual funds and pension funds, maybe five to 20 of them. A handful of big players often attracts others, which can put up prices fast on these smaller stocks. Information on institution participation in individual stocks is published in Standard & Poor's Security Owner's Stock Guide, available from your stockbroker.

- Don't stick with a single industry; diversify. For the average investor, that means a mutual fund.

To money manager David Dremann, of Dremann Value Management in New York, the general market shows no sign of wild-eyed speculation, because most of the action has swirled around a very small number of blue-chip stocks. Last year the top 250 S&P companies rose 15.8 percent (not counting dividends), while the bottom 250 actually fell by 0.5 percent—an astonishing split that Dremann attributes, in part, to the buying patterns of institutional index funds.

Since January, however, buying has been broadening out on all the exchanges—a good sign for the bull.

One warning about the recent small-stock rally: the year's best performance may already be behind us. Secondary stocks usually drop off in December when individuals do their year-end tax selling, then jump in January when they reinvest. Typically, that January rise amounts to one-third to one-half of the price gain for the entire year.

But look at it this way: the opera isn't over until the fat lady sings, and stocks shouldn't stop rising until the little guy has had his day.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON

High-Tech Highs

The high-tech mutual funds, including medical technology, and the small-company growth funds turned a cold January hot.

	1987*	1986
Science and technology funds	15.7%	8.2%
Health funds	12.2%	18.7%
Small-company growth funds	10.9%	5.6%
Technology stock index	23.4%	2.9%
Standard & Poor's 500	13.2%	18.7%
Average equity fund	10.7%	15.9%

*THROUGH JAN. 29.
SOURCES: HAMBRECHT & QUIST; LIPPER ANALYTICAL SERVICES



YVONNE HEMSEY—GAMMA-LIAISON

Saying 'no': Clinic protest in New York

in this country are done on teenage girls.

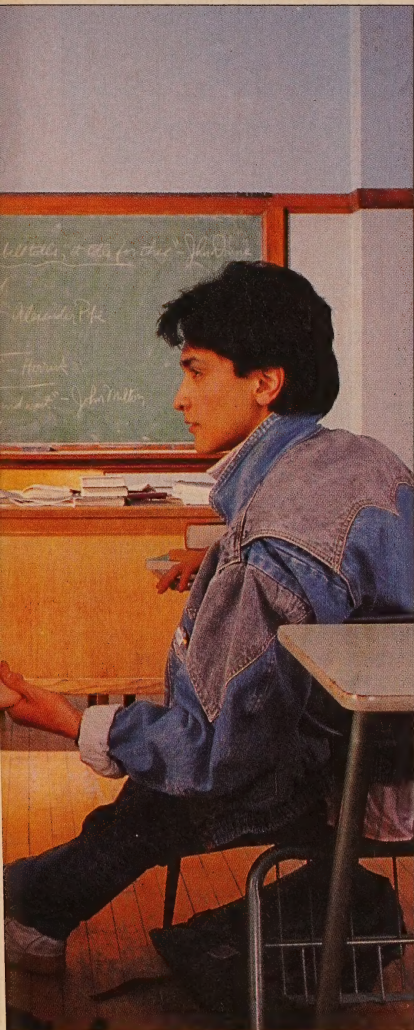
The outlook for the babies, and for the young mothers, is grim. They are most likely to come from low-income households, and chances are that other members of the family—their mothers or their older sisters—have been teenage mothers. If they drop out of school to have their babies, as most girls do, they probably will never finish their education and they will come to depend on public assistance to survive. A third of all teenage mothers have a second child before they turn 20. Because teenage mothers usually do not have access to any prenatal care, they do not know about nutrition; their babies are likely to have low birthweights, which in turn increases the risk of health and developmental problems. The huge number of teenage mothers is one reason why the United States has a high infant-mortality rate: 10.8 infant deaths for every 1,000 live births. According to a report released last week by the Children's Defense Fund, the United States ranked with Belgium, East Germany and West Germany for the highest infant-mortality rate among 20 industrialized countries.

High risk: A potentially more serious threat—AIDS—has forged unlikely alliances in the battle over teenage sex. Public-health experts worry openly that sexually active teenagers will be the next AIDS "high risk" group. In October Surgeon General C. Everett Koop—known for his conservative views on abortion and birth control—came out in favor of early and explicit sex education in schools; he also advocated the use of condoms as protection against AIDS (page 64). In December a distinguished panel of researchers from the National Research Council issued a report that advocated making contraceptives available to teenagers.

It is now much more acceptable to talk publicly about contraception (page 82). In the last few weeks, condom ads have begun appearing on some television stations and

in major newspapers and magazines, including *Newsweek*. The new openness is mandated by serious public-health concerns. "When it comes to pregnancy and decisions about abortion or whether to bear a child at a young age, then the stakes are high," says Leroy Walters of the Kennedy Center for Biomedical Ethics. "The stakes are even higher with an infection that could be lethal within five to 10 years."

In this atmosphere, it has also become acceptable to talk about chastity—long out of fashion. "Abstinence is our first choice," says Patricia Davis-Scott, who runs a teen health clinic that dispenses contraceptives at DuSable High School in Chicago. The National Research Council panel also endorsed programs that stress delaying sexual activity, although the panel noted in its report that "there is little available evidence to document their effectiveness." Other groups, such as the Washington-based Center for Population Options, which helps schools set up clinics, have made extensive efforts to get kids to postpone sex. The center publishes a booklet called "Make a Life for Yourself" that lists 10 reasons to wait. Among them are: "You don't want to"; "You're not ready"; "You want to wait until you're in love or married"; and "You're not using birth control." Says the center's Debra Haffner, coauthor of the booklet: "We believe in abstinence. There's no question that kids should delay having sex because most adolescents are not ready to have sex." That message seems to be getting across to at least a few stu-



MICHAEL VOLLAN

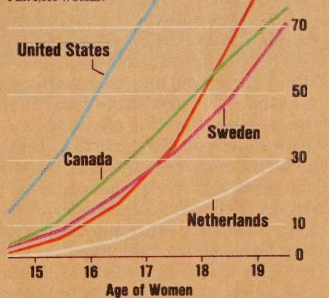
Chicago classroom becoming a little closer

Sad Trend

The teen-pregnancy rate is dramatically higher in the United States than in other Western nations.

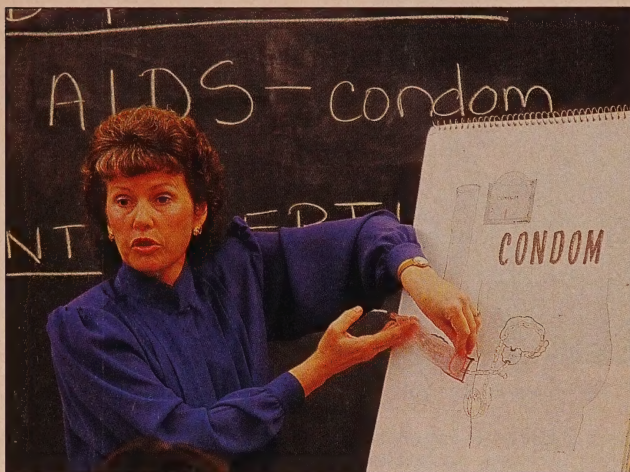
Pregnancy Rate

PER 1,000 WOMEN

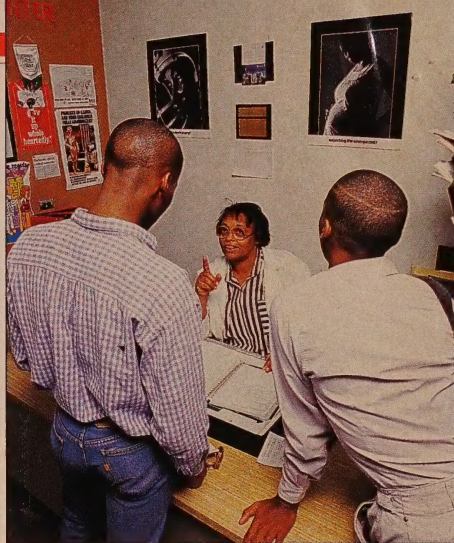


SOURCE: THE ALAN GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE, 1981 DATA

BLUMRICH NEWSWEEK



DOUG MENUEZ—PICTURE GROUP



DAVID WALBERG

Frank talk: Sex-education class in California (left) and students at Chicago's DuSable High School with counselor

dents. "We tell the kids the best kind of safe sex is abstinence," says Amy Weitz of Planned Parenthood in San Francisco, "and we're seeing more of it." Tina, a 16-year-old from Oakland, Calif., says that fear of AIDS and other diseases has made some of her friends chaste. "We call it the 'Straight Age'," she says.

But most health-care professionals aren't counting on teenagers to stay away from sex. "After food and sleep, you are dealing with the third most powerful drive we have," says Dr. Sheldon Landesman, an AIDS researcher in New York. "And sex is the most powerful nonsurvival drive." There are other forces pushing teenagers into each other's arms as well. A recent Harris poll of U.S. teenagers indicated that more than half have had intercourse by the time they are 17—primarily because they felt pressure from their peers. "My friends say, if you haven't done it, you're not in with the 'in' group," says Nekell McGrith, a 16-year-old sophomore at Harry S. Truman High School in the Bronx.

Jeans ad: Still, only a third of the teenagers who were sexually active said they used contraceptives all the time. Nearly as many (27 percent) said that they never use them. The rest said they used birth control "sometimes" or "most of the time." It's not because birth control is unavailable. Any kid who's not too embarrassed can pick up a package of condoms in the local drugstore. Sometimes kids avoid contraceptives because of ill-founded concerns about their safety. There are other prevalent myths about birth control. Last year the Detroit Free Press asked high-school students to write letters about what was wrong with their schools. Pregnancy was a major topic and many of the responses included popular misconceptions about sex. At Clinton-

Teenagers, Birth Control and AIDS

Americans 13 and older are split over whether schools that dispense birth control encourage sex. But they overwhelmingly believe that parents unable to prevent their child from having sex should help the teenager get birth control.

How worried are you that AIDS will spread widely among the nation's teenagers?

- 48% Very worried
- 24% A little worried
- 15% Not very worried
- 9% Not worried at all

If a school dispenses birth-control devices, do you think that will make teenagers more likely to engage in sexual activities or not?

- 45% More likely
- 47% Not more likely

At what age do you think young people should be first able to get birth-control devices?

- 3% 8-11
- 31% 12-15
- 54% 16-18

Has the fear of AIDS affected the social life and dating habits of teenagers greatly, to some extent or not at all?

- 13% Greatly
- 43% To some extent
- 29% Not at all

Which do you think is the best way to limit AIDS and unwanted pregnancies? By emphasizing:

- 51% Sex education
- 43% Advocating abstinence

If parents are unable to prevent their teenage child from having sexual relations, is it better for them to help the teenager get birth control or not?

- 76% Help
- 16% Not help

What method of birth control do you think is most appropriate for teenagers?

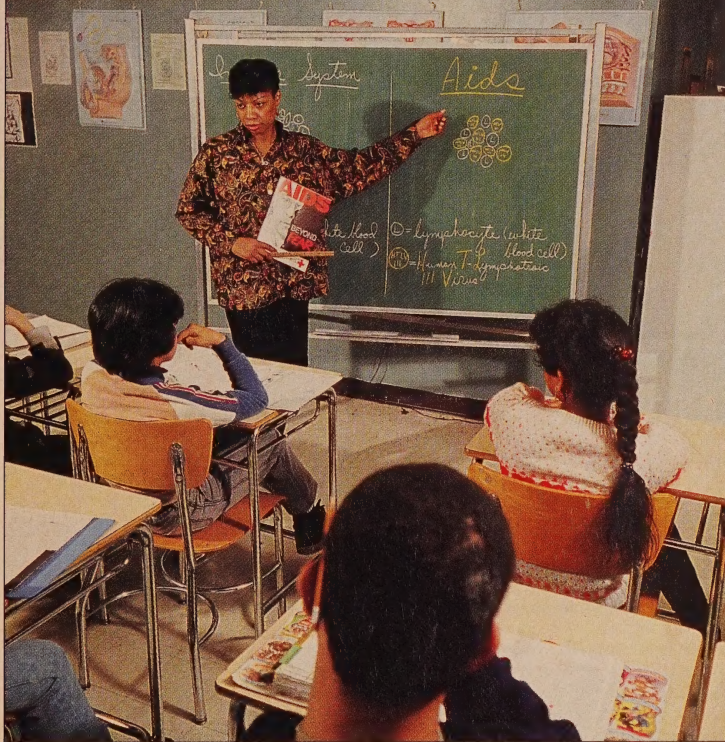
	13- to 17-year-olds	Total
The Pill	69%	42%
Diaphragm	1%	4%
Condom	26%	34%
Foam	1%	1%
The sponge	2%	2%
Abstinence	0%	8%

Should teenagers be able to get birth-control devices at the following places, only with their parents' permission or not at all?

	Should be available	Should not be	Only with parents' OK
Family doctor	52%	5%	42%
Clinic	50%	9%	39%
School	24%	41%	32%
Local drugstore	34%	34%	31%

For this Newsweek Poll, The Gallup Organization conducted telephone interviews with a representative sample of 606 Americans over the age of 13 on Feb. 5 and 6. The margin of error is plus or minus 5 percentage points. Some "Don't know" and "Other" answers omitted. The Newsweek Poll © 1987 by Newsweek, Inc.

INCLUDING SEX EDUCATION
 NUCLEAR FAMILY ADULT FAMILY PUBERTY MENSTRUATION OVULATION CERVIX HYMEN OVULATION
 EXTENDED FAMILY POST- CARE SINGLE PARENT NOCTURNAL EMISSION VAGINA UTERUS OVARIES OVA
 ON ESTROGEN AND PITUITARY GLAND TESTIS TESTICLE EPIDIDYMIS SEMINAL VESICLES URETHRA
 COMPLEX GLANS PENIS FORESKIN TESTOSTERONE CORONA SCROTUM FERTILIZATION TESTES FRUCTOSE



ROBERT R. McELROY—NEWSWEEK

A matter of life and death: Fifth graders in the Bronx learn about AIDS

dale High School in Mt. Clemens, Mich., for example, some girls thought that you couldn't get pregnant if you wore high heels during intercourse. Other misguided ideas about sex: You can't get pregnant the first time. Douching afterwards will prevent pregnancy. You can't get pregnant standing up. You can't get pregnant if you don't kiss. Many health-care professionals say the level of ignorance among teenagers is astounding—and yet most of these children have had some kind of sex-education class in school. The sexual innuendoes in everything from blue-jean ads to MTV are "overwhelming," says June Osborn, dean of the University of Michigan's school of public health. "Pregnant kids know all about sexuality but they do not know what makes them pregnant."

First clinic: What's the best way for them to learn? Most experts say sex education should start at home, although they concede that few parents feel comfortable talking about sex (page 68). Classrooms are another important source of information, but a lot depends on the quality of the instruction. No study has ever borne out a

prevalent notion among adults: that sex education has any effect on students' rate of sexual activity. However, classes combined with school-based clinics offering contraceptives or information about birth control have been proven effective in delaying sex and lowering pregnancy rates. After the first school clinic to offer birth control was started at Mechanic Arts High School in St. Paul in 1973, birthrates were cut nearly in half. "In the schools, you have a beautiful system for follow-up because the nurse in a school has access to kids in a hallway to say, 'How's it going?'" says Gail Fearnley, a nurse-practitioner at school clinics in Muskegon, Mich.

It may turn out that the best hope for getting control of the problem is the most controversial approach. The very idea of school birth-control clinics raises troubling moral questions for many people. When the Portland, Ore., school district opened its first on-campus health clinic a year ago at Roosevelt High School, there were angry pickets. Clinic coordinator Mary Hennrich faced taunts of "devil worshiper" and "whoremonger" on her way to work.



RICKI ROSEN—PICTURE GROUP

Expecting: A Brooklyn 16-year-old



JIM ARGO—PICTURE GROUP

Protection: Distributing condoms

"They're well-meaning, concerned people with tunnel vision," says Hennrich of the protesters. "They think all kids are from ideal families in the suburbs and that all parents can talk openly with the kids about sex. It's not at all like that out there." The clinic at the all-black DuSable High School in one of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods is under attack in the courts; 13 black ministers from churches in the area have filed suit to close down the facility, alleging that



JAMES SCHNEPF—WHEELER PICTURES

Classroom morality: Teachers and students at a Catholic school in Wisconsin

it is a "calculated and pernicious effort to destroy the very fabric of family life among black parents and their children"—a charge denied by clinic director Patricia Davis-Scott. She says students can participate in the family-planning program only if a parent or legal guardian gives permission. "We are a school which is intimately involved with children and their families," she says. "We're not trying to circumvent parental authority."

Black leaders: Sometimes the opposition spreads beyond the schools themselves. In Boston a task force convened last fall by Schools Superintendent Laval Wilson recommended that clinics be established in two middle schools and two high schools. A powerful lobby lined up against the clinics. Included were Mayor Ray Flynn, members of the school board, local conservatives, prominent black leaders and religious leaders. The Roman Catholic Church set up its own task force and compiled a thorough report arguing that clinics are not only morally wrong but ultimately ineffective. In a letter he sent last fall to Wilson, Cardinal Bernard Law, archbishop of Boston, argued that the clinics would "place the

Boston public schools in the position of implicitly condoning or encouraging sexual activity among students." Wilson is expected to decide whether or not to open the clinics in the next two weeks.

Whatever Wilson's decision, school-based clinics will probably continue to grow in popularity—and not just because they give out contraceptives. Many are located in low-income areas, where a substantial portion of the students have no health insurance. Often, the clinics provide the only medical care the kids will get. At Chicago's DuSable clinic, director Davis-Scott says that family planning is only one of 10 health programs—including regular physical examinations and prenatal care. In fact, she says, 80 percent of the students who use the clinic do not participate in the contraceptive program. The demand for clinics like the one in Chicago appears to be

great. Wanda Wesson of the Support Center for School-based Clinics in Houston, which has been advising schools on how to open clinics since 1985, says that the center gets about 100 requests for help a month from schools wanting to begin new projects.

But school-based programs are not the only resource available to teens. There are about 5,000 community family-planning clinics around the country that distribute contraceptives to teenagers—often on a confidential basis. At The Hub in the South Bronx, teenagers participate in an after-school program that includes aerobics, karate and computer lessons as well as group discussions about sex and the need for contraceptives. The neighborhood, one of the poorest urban areas in the nation, has a serious teen-pregnancy problem. In 1980, the last year for which such data is available, 179 out of every 1,000 teenage girls in the South Bronx got pregnant—compared to 112 out of 1,000 for all of New York City. (The national rate in 1983 was 108 per 1,000.)

Peer pressure: "They have a lot of family problems—unemployment, alcoholism, suicide," says The Hub's director, Mary Morales. "Our focus is to give these people options other than early child rearing. We want them to know there is more out there than just having kids. If they have self-esteem, they can learn to say no. And children have to be given credit if they withstand peer pressure." With the high rate of drug use in the area, AIDS is also a very real danger for teenagers. Intravenous drug users are one of the major risk groups for the disease and are also thought to be among the main carriers of AIDS to the heterosexual population. "Maybe the best way to get the message across about contraceptives is to say use condoms—if you



LORIMAR-TELEPICTURES



JAMES D. WILSON—NEWSWEEK

Opening up the airwaves: Scene from 'Valerie' and KRON executive with condom ad



GREAT ENGINEERING IS KNOWING WHEN TO ADD AND WHEN TO SUBTRACT.

If you think it's impossible to add to a car without adding to its price, we've got a \$8419* surprise for you.

Because our front-wheel drive I-Mark not only gives you rack-and-pinion steering, power front disc brakes and all the other features you expect from a Japanese sedan, it gives you a whole range of features you probably didn't expect.

Including everything from split, fold-down rear seats to a year of free roadside

assistance provided by the Cross Country Motor Club. In fact, when you compare standard equipment, you'll find the I-Mark gives you everything listed in the photograph above. While all the Toyota Corolla LE gives you is an \$800 higher price tag.

Of course if you still can't believe the I-Mark gives you so much for so little, we invite you to visit your Isuzu dealer.

And check our math.



*Toyota Corolla LE, \$9278. *Manufacturer's suggested retail prices 12/1/86 P.O.E. excluding tax, license and transportation fee. Prices subject to change.

Buckle up—for life!

The First Car Builders of Japan

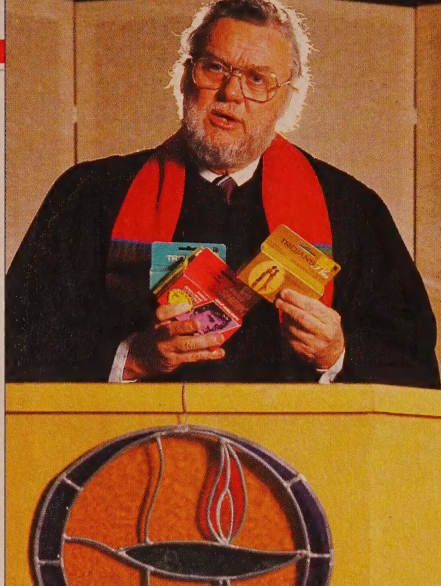
ISUZU

get AIDS, you're dead," says Morales.

At least some of the youths who use the center seem to have gotten the message. One day last week, five teenagers took part in a group discussion about attitudes toward sex and birth control. All agreed on the need for contraception, but most seemed to think the girl should take care of it. Clive McKay, an 18-year-old high-school senior, talked about "spontaneity" and how hard it is to stop and put on a condom. Dorothy Guttierrez, 19, responded angrily: "Now you have to carry a condom for him! You can stop to go to the bathroom if you have to. Why can't you protect yourself at the same time? Why should it be just the responsibility of the girl?"

Getting boys involved has been difficult in recent years. A generation ago, if a teenage girl became pregnant, she married the father. Now, says Stanford law Prof. Robert Mnookin, a member of the National Research Council panel, "it's more common for her to abort or be a single parent, and for the boy to become difficult to find or wash his hands of responsibility." Mnookin says the attitude of most young boys is: "You take the Pill, you take the risk. If you don't want to have a baby, you have an abortion." Mnookin recommends the enforcement of child-support laws to make it clear to young men one "mistake" can mean 18 years of paying bills.

But other experts say that work with boys has to begin on an even more basic level. Louise Flick, an associate professor at the St. Louis University School of Nursing, has reviewed studies conducted over 15



JOE TRAVER—GAMMA-LIAISON

Giveaway: Titchener and condoms

years on teenagers' attitudes toward sexuality. Boys tend to be less well informed about sex and contraception than girls and have more trouble discussing sex—although they may cover up their discomfort with "macho" talk. The boys' role is crucial in contraception. "Girls say they don't want to use contraceptives because their partners don't want them to," says Morales of The Hub. "The boys say condoms don't feel good, destroy the sensation,

are artificial. The condoms made today are so thin, you can't feel them."

Some groups are making special efforts to reach boys. It's not easy. Charles Ballard, who runs the Teen Fathers Program in Cleveland, says that one day he asked a group of 15 boys how many were fathers. Only two raised their hands. When he asked how many had babies, 14 hands went up. "They just don't think like fathers," Ballard says. "They don't connect pregnancy with marriage or husbanding or fatherhood." At least 65 percent of his clients never really knew their own fathers. "No man has ever touched their lives except a policeman," he says, "and he was approaching them with a gun or billyclub in his hand."

Although many boys seem to be able to ignore the responsibilities of parenthood, AIDS

has made them think about condoms. Fear of dying isn't the only reason; teenagers often have a hard time believing in their own mortality. "They're terrified of getting AIDS and being labeled homosexual," says Medora Brown, who runs the sex-education program at Como High School in St. Paul, Minn. "That's the issue—they are more afraid of having people call them gay than they are of dying."

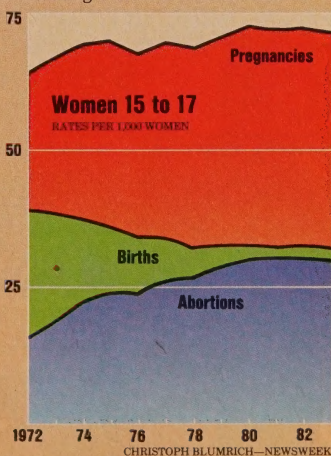
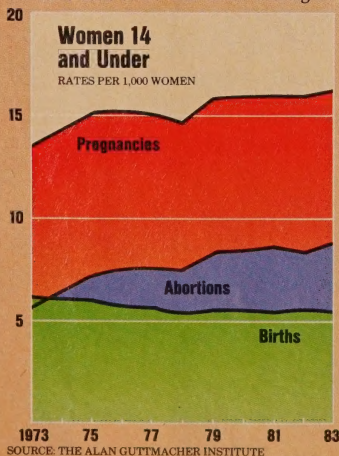
Comic strip: Family-planning groups and condom manufacturers are taking advantage of this increased receptivity to contraceptives. A series of Planned Parenthood ads featuring comic strips of young people urges readers to "protect your love with condoms." Condoms are coming out of the wallet; not only are manufacturers placing ads in mainstream publications and TV stations like KRON in San Francisco, they are trying to appeal to younger audiences, experimenting with packaging and hipper slogans. Rev. Carl Titchener of suburban Buffalo dispensed condoms during a sermon on AIDS last Sunday.

Condoms have begun to appear on regular television programs as well—a move that health-care experts say is particularly important since teenagers get many of their ideas about sex from television and movies. In the Harris poll, substantial numbers of teenagers said that they thought television presented an accurate portrayal of sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy and birth control. Younger teenagers were more likely to believe in television than older teens. "TV has become the major form of sex education," says Dr. Victor Strasburger, head of the American Academy of Pediatrics task

(Continued on page 64)

Younger Children With Children

Though the pregnancy rate for older teens has leveled off, it has continued to climb among their younger sisters. The birth-rate figures compared with those for abortions show that more teenagers are choosing this form of birth control.



'This Is a Good Place'

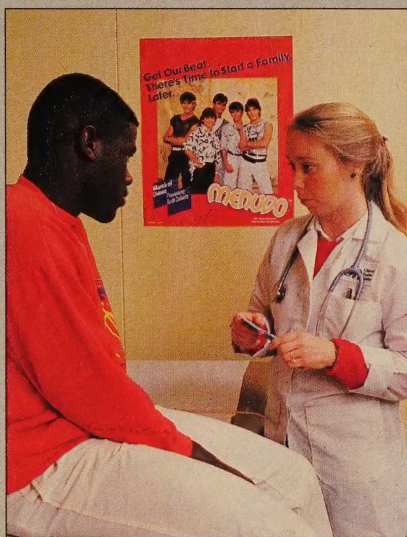
A clinic in Dallas copes with teenage sexuality

Sixteen-year-old Vantra squirms in her seat, hoping the question that hangs in the air will somehow evaporate. "We're not using anything, but I know we should be," says the sophomore baton majorette at L.G. Pinkston High School in Dallas. "He wants a child. And I don't know, in a way I want one, and in a way it's just too early for one." Vantra is en route to being a statistic: in Texas, more than one in 10 teenage girls becomes pregnant, the third highest teen-pregnancy rate in the nation.

Even more disturbing, Vantra is making her admission while sitting in an office at the West Dallas Youth Clinic, a neighborhood health center on the Pinkston campus where contraceptives have been available to teens since the mid-1970s. She received birth-control pills from the clinic as a ninth grader but gave them up because she could not remember to use them. "It'd be a problem because I get so busy," she says. She went back on the pills two months ago, supplementing them with a barrier foam as protection against forgetfulness, but soon yielded to her 16-year-old boyfriend's request that she not use anything. They have sex "more than" twice a week, Vantra says.

Vantra's case underscores a frustrating reality: making contraceptives available to children is not necessarily insurance against pregnancy. Though the clinic claims modest success in countering the problem, the studies they have done are so far inconclusive. "You'd be surprised how many kids have big stacks of pills," said social worker Linda Mims. West Dallas's social-services director, Truman Thomas, asserts that throwing contraceptives at teenagers is a "fast-food approach" to the complexities of their sexuality and ignores cultural and psychological factors.

Drug abuse: The West Dallas Youth Clinic is in one of Texas's most neglected communities. Once a hideout for Bonnie and Clyde, West Dallas, annexed by the city in the early 1950s, is a crime-ridden slum. Many residents, more than 90 percent black and Hispanic, live in crumbling public housing. Physicians and counselors stretch a lean \$450,000 annual budget to deal with children who confront adult-size problems: depression, nervous stress, the burdens of caring for



PHIL HUBER—BLACK STAR

Choices and consequences: Counseling in Dallas

siblings neglected by parents who abuse drugs and alcohol. "I've never seen so many kids who take care of parents," said Mims. Risking pregnancy seems like a small problem by comparison. Thomas estimates that only 10 to 15 percent of the clinic's 4,000 regular adolescent patients come for birth control.

When kids do come to the clinic for contraceptives, they rarely say so up front. The "presenting" problem is usually a vague adolescent complaint—headache, leg ache, earache. "Sometimes it's a guessing game," says Jim Sealey, an obstetric and gynecological nurse practitioner. After a full checkup and a series of meetings with counselors, the teen's real motive emerges. When a teenager seems to be sexually active but uninterested in birth control, the clinic will not try to hard-sell contraceptives. "I try to lay out the facts on the table. These are the choices, these are the consequences," Sealey says.

Counselors also have to wade daily through the seemingly indestructible—and astonishing—myths that propel adolescents into unprotected sex: pregnancy is only possible, for instance, when both partners have an orgasm. On a waiting-

room table amid candy wrappers and school textbooks, a young patient recently left behind a true-false questionnaire. Checked "true" were the statements "Sometimes syph goes away by itself" and "If you don't like girls, that means you'll be gay."

While contraceptives are available at the clinic, they are treated as only one alternative. Corridors are checkered with posters urging kids to "Say No." Social-services director Thomas has been active in an antipregnancy campaign that produced a controversial TV spot showing two teens kissing passionately in the back seat of a car. When the girl slides her leg up over the boy's knee, a stop sign flashes on the screen and a voice warns: "Stop. Think about it..."

Few vetoes: Despite a state law that allows dispensing of contraceptives to minors without parental consent, the West Dallas clinic requires that a client get written approval from home. Staff members believe that the consent process helps to kindle badly needed household give-and-take about sex and also fosters a parent's trust in the clinic. After families have talked about what the child is doing, parents seldom veto the idea of turning to the clinic for help. "We're part of this community," says Sealey. "We're not trying to do anything in secret here."

Sometimes it is parents who approach the clinic. Recently Mary Scarborough brought her 15-year-old daughter in for an initial screening. "Don't want no babies," Scarborough said. "I started hearing rumors that each time her girlfriend was having sex she was having it, too. They're going to have sex regardless, they might as well be protected."

The clinic is more popular with boys than one might imagine. Larry, a brash senior who calls his girlfriends "clients" because they mean "literally nothing to me," has obtained condoms from the clinic for four years. "I don't want to get any girl pregnant," says Larry, who will attend Oklahoma State University this fall. "It's a big responsibility."

Larry says he is about ready to refer another customer. "This is a good place. As soon as she stops beating boys up and starts liking them, I'm going to bring her over here myself." The girl that Larry has in mind is his niece. She is 11 years old.

BILL TURQUIN in Dallas



CORPORATE FAT CAT.

The image of the roly-poly executive puffing cigars while lounging in his leather chair is a myth. Reality is preparing yourself physically for the mental strains of business.

American Airlines knows how it is. On the business fast track, success comes to those conditioned for it. So we help you along the way by making business travel easy. With conveniences like no-stop check-inSM so you can go



directly to your plane instead of standing in airport lines. And by offering large overhead storage bins to better accommodate your carry-on bags.

At American, making your hectic business life run smoother isn't just something we want to do. It's something we have to do.

After all, our performance affects yours.

And your success determines ours.

American Airlines
Something special in the air.™

(Continued from page 60)

force on children and television. The problem is, sex on television isn't very realistic. Lovers usually hop into bed quite spontaneously—with little thought of the consequences. Teenagers raised on these scenes of impulsive romance think they're watching the only course of true love. Last October Planned Parenthood launched an ad campaign with slogans like "When J.R. took Mandy for a roll in the hay, which one had the condom?" and "They did it 20,000 times on television last year. How come nobody got pregnant?" Says Faye Wattleton, president of the Planned Parenthood

Federation of America: "Just as sex is integrated into most programming, prevention should be also. It should go hand in hand."

Some television executives are beginning to make changes, partly in response to pressure from groups like Planned Parenthood. "We were avoiding the issues," concedes Al Rabin, executive director of the soap opera "Days of Our Lives." "We had teens losing their virginity. When we wanted her to get pregnant, she'd get pregnant, but we never mentioned contraception." Rabin developed a new story line where a young girl wants to make love with her boyfriend and discusses it with her grand-

mother, her brother, a doctor and a married girlfriend—all of whom urge her to use birth control. The program even showed her boyfriend buying a condom.

There are changes on prime time as well. The producers of the NBC show "Valerie" say it wasn't easy to convince the network's censors to let them use the word "condom" on a sitcom. "If you can talk about it on the 6 o'clock news," says coexecutive producer Thomas Miller, "why can't you talk about it on 8 o'clock sitcoms?" Miller finally won, but when the show ran Sunday, it was preceded by an advisory from the network that parents watch the show with their chil-

Koop and Bennett Agree to Disagree

Secretary of Education William Bennett and Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, two of America's most visible and voluble conservatives, have clashed in recent weeks over the issue of sex education for teenagers. Two weeks ago, in an attempt to head off a looming feud, the two issued a joint statement. They managed to agree on this much: "Education has a fundamental role to play in teaching our young people how to avoid that threat [of AIDS]." On the important questions that lie just beyond, however—what kind of role education should play and how far it should go—they seem to have agreed to disagree. Curiously, it is not the education secretary but the surgeon general who has taken a broader view of what students should

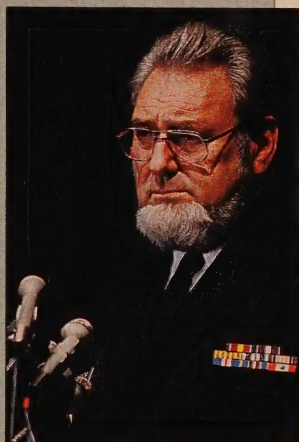
learn about AIDS in school.

Last week, at the convention of the National Religious Broadcasters, Koop was out once again stumping for the use of condoms to prevent the spread of AIDS. He repeated the joint statement's position that "the safest approach to sexuality for adults is to choose either abstinence or faithful monogamy." But in the absence of such a choice, he went on, "an individual must be warned to use the protection of a condom." The Koop-Bennett statement had made no mention of condoms, which the surgeon general in November had called the best protection short of abstinence. "Strong, honest and family-centered" sex education (which Koop prefers to call "health and human development") should

begin in kindergarten, he told the religious broadcasters, and explain the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases—specifically AIDS—in junior high school.

Moral context: Bennett is moving more cautiously. He says schools should stress abstinence and should teach about sex only as a part of marriage. "In matters like this," he says, "I trust the judgment of the local community instead of the sexperts." Even where sex education is taught, he adds, contraception, abortion and condom-protection should not automatically be made part of the curriculum, nor should contraceptives be dispensed in school. (Koop has not taken a position on contraceptive distribution.) To do so "encourages those children who do not have sexual intimacy on their minds to have it on their minds," he said in a speech last year. Sen. Paul Simon, Democrat of Illinois, who plans in this Congress to reintroduce his bill calling for federal funding of school clinics that might offer family-planning services, suggests that "It's been too long since [Bennett] was a teenager." But Bennett argues that sex education should be taught "in a moral context" and that to dispense contraceptives in schools "is to throw up one's hands and say, 'We give up.'"

Koop and others argue, in effect, that sex is a fact of life.

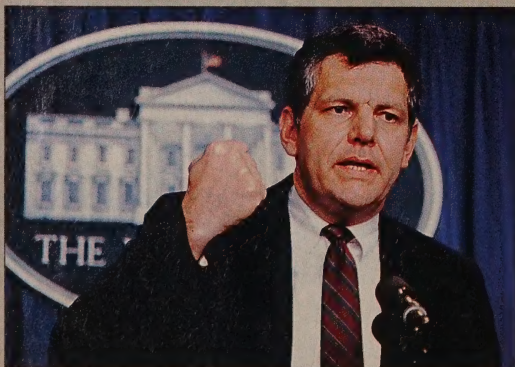


WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

The surgeon general: Crisis

Last week, speaking to the religious broadcasters, the surgeon general cited a Michigan State University study that found that large numbers of 9th- and 10th-grade girls watch one to two hours of soap operas every day; the programs show or discuss sex between unmarried partners an average of 1.5 times an hour. "You as Christians will continue to be tested by tremendous questions that arise from the turmoil of current events," he said and urged them to face squarely the sensitive intertwining of sexuality and public health. For non-Christians too, these are frightening issues. And short of a cure, education may be the only answer.

BILL BAROL with MARY HAGER and PAT WINGERT in Washington



STEPHEN FERRY—GAMMA-LIAISON

The secretary: Trusting the community, not the 'sexperts'

dren. It won't be the last time condoms appear on television. In April, ABC is going to air a movie called "Daddy" that shows a teenage boy passing a condom to a friend. "Daddy" is not a two-hour movie dealing with an unwanted pregnancy that never produces a baby," says Ted Harbert, ABC's vice president for motion pictures. "In our movie, [a teenage girl] has the baby in the first hour and you spend the next hour watching her deal with the consequences." The 22-year-old star, Dermot Mulroney, says he didn't have to do a lot of research on the subject to prepare for his role. "I went to high school in Virginia where, my senior year, there were 52 pregnancies," Mulroney says. "An unplanned pregnancy is as devastating as a death in the family. It changes your life forever."

Low income: As well-intended as all these efforts are, they may be treating only the symptoms, not the disease. Teenagers who begin sex early and don't use contraceptives are likely to come from low-income homes or single-parent families. "They're little kids with grown-up problems," says Kim Cox, a health educator at Balboa High School in San Francisco. They are moved to sex, many of them, not by compassion or love or any of the other urges that make sense to adults, but by a need for intimacy that has gone unfulfilled by their families. "Sex," says Cox, "is an easy way to get it."

Teenagers make important decisions about their lives on their own—without much help from parents. It's not just that adults are uncomfortable discussing sex with their kids, although many probably are. The teenagers don't think they can talk to their parents. In the Harris poll, 64 percent of teenagers said they had never discussed birth control with their parents.

Parents are also reluctant to assert their authority in a positive way. Dr. Catherine Deangelis, a professor of pediatrics and adolescent medicine at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore who runs an inner-city health clinic for teenagers, says she often sees 13- and 14-year-olds come into her clinic with their mothers—both dressed in jeans. "My first question is how does she know you're her mother? I mean, psychologically, that you are her mother, not her friend?" Deangelis tries to teach parents that they must set limits for their children and teach them right from wrong.

As the problems of teenage pregnancy and the fear of AIDS grow worse, the dilemma will deepen as well: where to draw the line between the rights and responsibilities of parents and society's need to protect itself. Our children—and their children—will be waiting for the answer.

BARBARA KANTROWITZ with MARY HAGER and PAT WINGERT in Washington, GINNY CARROLL in Detroit, GEORGE RAINE in San Francisco, MONROE ANDERSON in Chicago, DEBORAH WITHERSPOON in New York, JANET HUCK in Los Angeles and SHAWN DOHERTY in Boston

The Dry Look® Styling Mousse

WE'VE GOT YOUR STYLE



© 1996 The Gillette Company

MOLDER OF MEN

While you're out shaping your destiny, let The Dry Look® Mousse shape your hair. Just a little adds body, shine, control to your style. Because every man wants a little more control. And a little more style.

The Dry Look® Collection.
New From Gillette.



**“Chrysler
announces
the end of the
5/50 Protection
Plan.**



How to Talk About Sex

Keep things frank, uncomplicated and relaxed

Spermicidal foam. Condoms. Pregnancy. AIDS. Not exactly words that roll off the tongue, least of all in the presence of a fidgety, mortified adolescent. Most parents today probably didn't learn much about sex from their own mothers and fathers; the subject, if it came up, usually took the form of "a talk" the night before the prom. But there is no longer any question that parents must talk about sex and contraception with their children. With Surgeon General C. Everett Koop urging that AIDS be discussed with children as young as eight years old—a frighteningly early age to hear sex and death mentioned in the same breath—the issues are how and what a parent should be teaching. "What do we do? How do we anticipate?" asks Joan Ginsberg, a New York mother who feels her 15-year-old daughter isn't ready for a frank discussion of birth control. "Sex isn't a taboo subject, but it's a difficult thing for a parent."

Sex will probably not become the stuff of dinner-table conversation, but parents should be able to approach the subject without undue anxiety. The first rule about talking to children is that there are no rules. "No one can say at what age everyone should be told about sex and birth control," says Debra Haffner, director of information and education for the Center of Population Options. Sexual activity varies widely among groups of teens. "It can depend on the community," according to Haffner. A 1985 Johns Hopkins study indicates that in low-income, inner-city areas the average age of sexual intercourse can be as low as 12; whereas across the country, the average age is about 16.

Red light: Parents should also be reassured that no study has shown that teaching children about birth control encourages them to have sex. "There is a false notion that you're going to encourage kids to have intercourse if you tell them about contraception," says Lee Salk, professor of psychology, psychiatry and pediatrics at New York Hospital. "It's like saying I'm not going to teach my child about red and green lights because the roads are very dangerous."

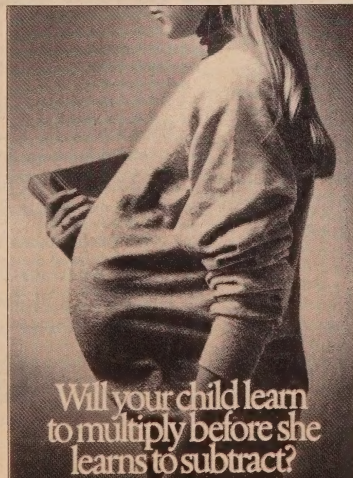
The best guidelines for conversations are set by kids—parents should provide information as their children seem interested.



Take your clues from your kids: Planned Parenthood ad

Most children's first questions are about babies, but they will eventually want a step-by-step description of intercourse. Salk cautions parents not to get too tangled in detail: "A lot of parents who are not comfortable discussing reproduction and sex tend to go overboard," says Salk. Keep answers simple and close to whatever subject the child raises. Salk advises parents to use words like "penis" and "uterus" instead of confusing generalities like "stomach." "Kids are not interested in birds and bees," says Salk.

Forget the birds and bees: Pregnancy poster



"They want real terms." It is harder for parents to use direct language, but the payoff is worth the discomfort. "You need to talk to kids in terms of their interests and the kinds of questions they have," agrees Richard Lincoln, senior vice president of the Alan Guttmacher Institute, a private family-planning research group in New York. If parents deliver a formal lecture, says Lincoln, "there's the danger you might put the kids to sleep."

Although parents worry that young children will be frightened when confronted with explicit information about sex and AIDS, most experts disagree. "There's no such thing as too much education about birth control and AIDS," says Ruth Westheimer, the popular TV and radio sex therapist, "as long as it's done without scare techniques." Conversations about AIDS should be "matter of fact," she says, "the way we talk about polio, without attaching shame or blame."

Alice Radosh, coordinator of New York Mayor Ed Koch's Office of Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting Services, says, "Kids are naturally not frightened. If any adult is doing anything scary, they're not explaining it right." Radosh believes the way parents answer questions may be as important as *what* they say. "The issues [for younger children] are really of self-respect and not being pressured. We need to talk to third-graders about being in charge of their own bodies," says Radosh, adding, "That doesn't mean talking about oral and anal sex. It's important to keep the innocence of the innocents."

New twist: AIDS has made many parents more reluctant to talk about sex. Even those who found frank conversation easy in the past say AIDS has thrown them off. Many parents, overwhelmed by the enormity of the task, abdicate responsibility and count on the schools.

It will always be hard for parents to communicate to children that sex might be dangerous—and yet an act of profound beauty. But parents should persevere, no matter how difficult. "Parenting now is much more demanding," says Michael Carrera, professor of health sciences at Hunter College in New York and former president of the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors and Therapists. But parents must be attentive and involved, Carrera says, particularly in the early years. "In shaping the values of young people," he says, "parents are more powerful than any clinic, any teacher, any peer."

JENNET CONANT with KAREN SPRINGEN in New York and PAT WINGERT in Washington

And the beginning of the 7/70 Protection Plan."

Lee A. Iacocca

Now every car, truck and minivan Chrysler builds comes with protection on the engine, powertrain and turbo for 7 years or 70,000 miles. And against outerbody rust-through for 7 years or 100,000 miles.*

**If you're looking for who builds them best,
take a good look at who backs them best.**

For five years, Chrysler has been giving America the best powertrain protection in the business. 5/50 protection. And for almost as long, we've been inviting the rest of the industry to follow Chrysler. To join the party.

It's finally happened. Sort of. GM has decided they now have enough confidence in their quality to improve their car warranty. Predictably, Ford said they'd follow suit.

Chrysler says welcome to the party.

It's good for America.

But what about the millions of Americans buying trucks and minivans with only 2-year protection? Are they second-class citizens?

And the Japanese imports apparently have decided they

don't have to be in the game. They can just talk it.

To us, the only quality worth talking about is quality worth backing.

Because over 5 million Chrysler, Plymouth and Dodge owners out there have been covered by 5/50 protection, our quality has had to improve dramatically.

So much so, we're improving our warranty by 40%.

And we're sharing this improvement with all of our customers. Car, truck, and minivan.

Isn't that what you're supposed to do?



**CHRYSLER
MOTORS**

DODGE • PLYMOUTH • CHRYSLER

*See limited warranty at dealers. Restrictions apply.

America Gets 'Condomized'



A British condom commercial says, 'If you must sleep with more than one partner...' Must?

Television, a wit says, allows you to be entertained in your home by people you would not have in your home. Soon some of that entertainment will be sponsored by commercials you might prefer not to see from your sofa, commercials for condoms. Some of them may be sponsoring programs concerning condoms. Recently on "St. Elsewhere" an unmarried pregnant woman said she should have had her lover "condomized." Another noun has given birth to a verb. "Valerie" has a son who has a condom. "Cagney and Lacey," "Kate and Allie," "The Facts of Life" and other shows have at least sideswiped the subject of teenage contraception. As Fred Allen said, "Imitation is the sincerest form of television."

In 1952 the television code forbade advertisement of "intimately personal products which are generally regarded as unsuitable conversational topics in mixed social groups." Mixed where? Mobile? Manhattan? Does place make a difference anymore? Many newspapers and magazines have carried condom ads. One ad features a worried woman saying: "I enjoy sex, but I'm not ready to die for it." For *Newsweek* that ad was made more delicate: "I'll do a lot for love, but I'm not ready to die for it." America's newspaper of record (*The Sporting News*) carries an ad that shouts: "Test your condom. Right here. Right now." It contains a questionnaire about spermicides, testing for strength and "a lubricant" for greater sensitivity. AIDS is not mentioned. That is a preview of coming television commercials.

Today's condom commercials tiptoe into living rooms. A young man says he goes out with "nice girls" but "some pretty terrible things are happening to some really nice people." A young woman says, "You might know someone pretty well. But do you really know him?" Another young woman says, "I never thought having an intimate relationship would be a matter of life and death, but because of AIDS, I'm afraid." I'm afraid I do not believe AIDS is much more than a pretext for the sudden condomization of television. And to the limited extent that AIDS is the real reason, feminists have a just grievance.

American females are, on average, sexually active at 16. Every year about 1 million adolescents become pregnant. About 400,000 have abortions. Half of those who give birth are not yet 18. Planned Parenthood acids, and rightly, notes that there are about 20,000 sexual scenes on television each year; yet no one gets pregnant. This relentless presentation of sex-without-consequences is almost certainly one reason the government spends \$17 billion a year on care for unwed mothers. However, so long as the problem with sex

was "just" pregnancy, condoms were not advertised. Now that men also are at risk (AIDS), condoms are advertised.

But what are condom commercials doing? Telling people that condoms exist? Try to find an unaware 13-year-old. Certainly anyone aware of AIDS is aware of condoms, which are displayed as conspicuously as toothpaste in drugstores. Advertising is supposed to make money for the advertiser. Most advertising aims to do something other than alert the public to a product of which the public is unaware. Beer commercials are not supposed to make you thirsty, or get you to buy beer rather than a Buick or root beer. Beer commercials try to get you to buy Miller rather than Bud. Once the public is used to condom commercials—a matter of months—condom advertising will be a straight fight for market share. It is a market worth more than \$300 million a year, with Americans buying 80,000 condoms a day.

The first television station to run condom commercials is in San Francisco, which has a large AIDS problem. One of the next stations is in Indianapolis. *Et tu, Indiana?* You bet. Forty years ago a quiet Indiana zoology professor was completing research that shattered America's sexual innocence that rested on reticence. Mrs. Kinsey said of her husband, Alfred, "I hardly see him at night since he took up sex." What he found out about sexual activity was that there was lots of it going on. For example, there were 450,000 acts of fornication in Indiana, every week. Oh! Indiana!

Oh! Everywhere else! Kinsey's army of investigators found that 85 percent of married males had had sexual intercourse before marriage; 50 percent of husbands had committed adultery; by the age of 40, 26 percent of wives had committed adultery. Want to know how many orgasms the average unmarried male was having weekly in the late 1940s? How many the average groom had experienced before his wedding? As Casey Stengel used to say, you could look it up. Kinsey wrote it down. And the world was turning upside down.

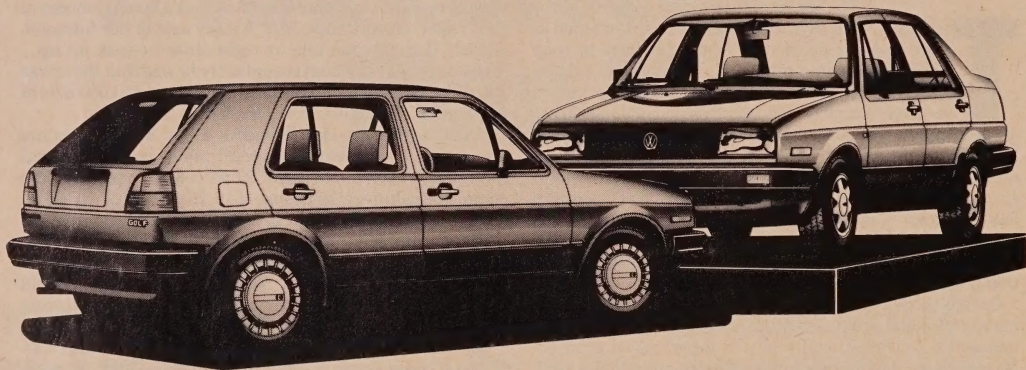
Sex 'candor': In "The Glory and the Dream," historian William Manchester recalls that when in 1948 Norman Mailer published "The Naked and the Dead" he had to invent a three-letter word ("fug") to substitute for the four-letter word that soldiers used. In 1949 *The New York Times* revised or rejected 1,456 advertisements. Lingerie described as "naughty but nice" became "Paris inspired—but so nice." A nightclub's "50 of the hottest girls this side of hell" were transformed to "50 of the most alluring maidens"—maidens, yet—"this side of paradise." Manchester says, "Curves were painted out of models in girdle displays, giving them an eerie, unisex appearance and raising the question of why they needed foundation garments at all."

Today's condom commercials may not be harmful, but neither are they merely a response to an epidemic. Too much delicacy about contraception and disease can be harmful. But a certain delicacy about intimate things does not need to be defended; it is inherently good. And "candor" about sex can be capitulation, suggesting that being "sexually active" is as much a matter of moral indifference as jogging. A British condom commercial says, "If you must sleep with more than one partner..." Must?

However, attitudinal change has its own dynamic and, regarding sex, the dynamic has been nothing if not, well, dynamic. In the 1940s a major oil company sent employees to visit gas stations to check on service and cleanliness of rest rooms. One visitor, a woman, was startled to find a condom-dispensing machine in the ladies' restroom. She told the operator of the station that the machine was inappropriate and must go. He said: Nothing doing. I get \$100 a week from that machine—and there has never been a condom in it.

We've all come a long way, baby.

Cool deals on hot Volkswagens.



**Buy a Jetta or a Golf and we'll give
you air conditioning at
no extra charge.**

Sure, the Jetta is the best-selling European nameplate in America. Sure, the Golf is the best-selling car in Europe. But now they're even hotter. Because if you buy a four-door model now, we'll give you air conditioning at no extra charge, a savings of \$740.* Just hurry. A deal this cool on Volkswagens won't last forever.



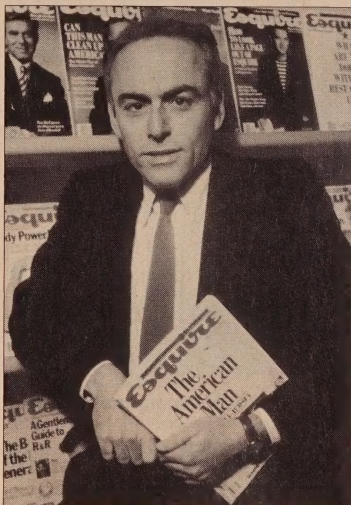
All sales claims based on manufacturers' reported retail deliveries through 1986. *Savings based on M.S.R.P. Dealer contribution may affect overall savings. Only available at participating Volkswagen dealers for a limited time. 4-dr. Golf GL and Jetta models only. ©1987 Volkswagen

Seatbelts save lives.

NEWS MEDIA

The Selling of Esquire

Hearst goes after men



ROBERT R. McELROY—NEWSWEEK

From 'self' to 'character': *Eisenberg*

With a sensitive first-person voice and some narrative thrust, the story might have run in *Esquire*. A male baby boomer turns 40, extremely successful yet somehow unfulfilled. He and his best friend have a falling out and split up their business. At a trade-association dinner in Florida he suddenly realizes that 10 years from now he will be in the same room with the same people. He gets up for fresh air and decides right then to sell the remainder of his company and retire to become a writer. To negotiate the sale, he turns to a woman executive and major shareholder, who sells the bulk of the company to a unit of a conglomerate run by her husband. Very 1980s. A perfect, and perfectly predictable, *Esquire* approach.

Also perfectly true, as it applies to the magazine itself. In 1979, Phillip Moffitt and Christopher Whittle, two ambitious young Tennesseans, bought a dying *Esquire* for practically nothing. The proud title became less political, more attuned to middle-brow male narcissism and far more successful financially. Early last year the pair split up their now sizable holdings, with Moffitt retaining *Esquire*. In November, as trend lines continued to look flat, Moffitt decided to start a new life and sold

Esquire (circulation: 700,000) to the huge and privately held Hearst Corp. for more than \$60 million. (A Moffitt start-up, New York Woman, was sold to American Express Publishing Corp.) Wilma Jordan, *Esquire*'s chief operating officer and a major shareholder, handled much of the deal. Six months earlier she had married George J. Green, who supervises the Hearst magazine group, but she says he stayed out of the purchase. "While I negotiated the sale, George and I didn't talk business," Jordan says. "When a call would come in, he would leave the room." Jordan, who will not take a post at Hearst, made between \$6 million and \$7 million on the deal.

Better read? Hearst, which publishes titles including *Good Housekeeping*, *Cosmopolitan* and *Harper's Bazaar*, needs a strong men's magazine. In fact, *Esquire*, inventor of the genre, was on its wish list for years. The purchase sets up a more direct competition between *Esquire* and *Gentleman's Quarterly* (circulation: 600,000), owned by Condé Nast. Viewed only a few years ago as a gay fashion magazine, *GQ* has used first-rate writers (often delivering second-rate material) to reposition itself, essentially by imitating *Esquire*. Even before the sale, *Esquire*, with a return to more of the style and fashion coverage of its early days, had, in a sense, begun to imitate *GQ*, which is now more successful than *Esquire* with advertisers and on newsstands. Once in a while *GQ* is even a better read, a cruel blow indeed to a publication that once helped energize and define magazine journalism.

Of course it may only seem to suffer by comparison because so much more is expected of *Esquire*. No one realizes that better than Lee Eisenberg, who succeeded Moffitt as editor in chief and will stay on under Hearst. Long before the sale, he planned the redesigned and enlarged magazine that begins with the April issue, and it has Hearst's full approval. In its newest incarnation, Eisenberg says, *Esquire* "will move from questions of self to questions of character. Much of the personal confusion that developed in the wake of the women's movement has begun to settle. We're going to see a much greater concern for the public good."

Do "character" and the "public good" translate as easily as "self" into glossy ads for Italian shoes? *Esquire*, under every owner, has hewed to what it saw as the prevailing Zeitgeist. That will be the ultimate test for Hearst, as it balances respect for its shiniest jewel with a desire to add more fashion spreads—and improve the bottom line. The question is whether a conglomerate accustomed to inoffensive fluff will accommodate a magazine that, when it was great, jostled and disturbed and engrossed a generation, rather than just flattering it.

JONATHAN ALTER



Bill Koch

8 time Nat'l X-C
Ski Champion
Olympic Silver Medalist
World Cup Winner

Scientific Study Ranks NordicTrack #1

In tests of exercise efficiency at a major university, NordicTrack burned more calories and provided greater aerobic workouts.

Rank of Exercise Efficiency

1. NordicTrack X-C Ski Exerciser
2. An Exercise Bike
3. A Rowing Machine
4. A Shuffle-Type Ski Exerciser

NordicTrack's higher oxygen usage test scores show that more muscle mass is involved in the exercise and more calories are being burned.

It's Only Logical that NordicTrack Would Get the Highest Scores

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Doing Hard Time, Fairly

A guide for sentencing

What's the proper punishment for bank robbers? It may depend on whether they're Bonnie and Clyde or Robin Hood, or whether they used guns or just a threatening note. But all other things being equal, fairness demands that similar crimes and criminals receive similar punishments. All too often, however, that's not the case in America's courts, where sentences are usually left to the discretion of the judge.

The problem is called sentencing disparity—and for more than a decade conservatives and liberals have, for different reasons, united to condemn the inconsistencies of the system. Two years ago Congress created a nine-member commission to write guidelines that would ensure more equal punishments to the 40,000 or so defendants convicted each year in federal court. Last week the commission released its latest draft, proposing to send more convicts to prison while narrowing the sentencing spectrum. The report sharply limits probation sentences, increases the use of fines and, recognizing that a little discretion may be a good thing, tries to leave judges a little wiggle room.

Sharp break: The sentencing guidelines use the same principle as a newspaper quiz that tests the health of a marriage or a smoker's chance of heart attack. Faced with a convicted defendant, the judge is supposed to rate the offender by adding or subtracting points for, among other things, the crime's severity, the victim's injuries, the presence of weapons and any previous criminal offenses. The final score carries with it a narrow range of permissible sentences (37 to 46 months for some robberies). Not content to stop there, the commission also includes a commentary to help judges pick a number within that spectrum. With all of that data in hand, the judge must settle on a sentence, inform the defendant and then complete a commission questionnaire that will be the grist for further research. If the sentence is outside the recommended range, either the prosecution or defense can appeal—a sharp break with current federal practice.

The guidelines will send more defendants to prison, although sometimes for shorter periods (chart). The commission was particularly stern on white-collar, drug and violent offenders, requiring that nearly all spend some time behind bars. That recommendation presents a problem



JIM PICKERELL—CLICK-CHICAGO

No room inside: Here come more inmates

for the overcrowded Federal Bureau of Prisons, but its possible consequences have not yet been fully addressed by the commission. Making matters worse is another major change: inmates will serve nearly all of their announced sentences because of cutbacks in so-called good time. But, according to Ilene Nagel, a commissioner and a professor of law at Indiana University, the group's "major purpose [was] to control crime," not grapple with the question of prison capacity.

The commission did not rule out plea bargaining, which accounts for about 85 percent of all convictions. But the report is

unclear about precisely how the system will work. Judges are instructed to reject pleas that "undermine" the "purposes of sentencing." Some commission members say that language will prevent judges from approving some pleas; others predict it won't change anything. And, if a prosecutor, defense attorney and judge all agree that a plea is justifiable, the guidelines need not be followed at all. Little wonder then that one staffer, who asked not to be named, said the guilty-plea loopholes are so broad that the courts "can drive a truck through them."

Death penalty: The commission did not present a united front. One member, Rutgers law Prof. Paul Robinson, issued a dissent calling the guidelines "haphazard and internally inconsistent." Among his charges, he asked rhetorically, "Is it appropriate... that the sentence for aggravated forcible sexual contact with a 13-year-old child can be less than for submitting a false record on protected wildlife?" Commission chairman William W. Wilkins Jr., a federal appeals judge from South Carolina, said some "bugs" would be removed. But, said Wilkins, "we don't want guidelines that are rigid... without giving regard to individual characteristics of the crime, the defendant and the victim."

The commission has until April 13 to submit its report to Congress. The guidelines will automatically become law six months later unless both houses vote them down and President Reagan signs the rejection bill. That seems unlikely unless the commission insists on writing in a federal death penalty, a notion anathema to key Senate Democrats. If the guidelines pass, the commission has six years to make modifications. Their potential influence is enormous: should the guidelines succeed in limiting disparities, many states will undoubtedly follow suit.

ARIC PRESS with ANN McDANIEL
in Washington

Crime—And New Punishments

Under the new sentencing guidelines more convicted felons would go to prison but some federal offenses would carry shorter sentences than they currently do. A few sample comparisons, all of them for first-time offenders:

Crime	*Average time served now	Proposed guidelines
Kidnapping	7.2 to 9 years	4.2 to 5.2 years
First-degree murder	10 to 12.5 years	30 years to life in all cases
Income-tax evasion: \$5,000 or less	4 to 10 months; only 30% serve time	Virtually all subject to some confinement for 1 to 7 months
Drug dealing (1 ounce of cocaine)	21 to 27 months; only 33% serve time	Virtually all serve 21 to 27 months

*U.S. SENTENCING COMMISSION ESTIMATES. COMPARISONS APPLY ONLY TO THE 15 PERCENT OF DEFENDANTS WHO GO TO TRIAL, PLEA BARGAINS NOT INCLUDED

ton of a compelling fantasy. The plot centers on three warring protagonists: a former presidential candidate turned Resistance leader (Kris Kristofferson), a collaborating opportunist (Robert Urich) and a suave KGB colonel (Sam Neill) who is wrenched between his fondness for America and his duties as an occupational overseer. Around them swirl the horrors of the New Order: food riots, gulags, grade-school brainwashings, mass butchering of rebellious farm squatters. The show has its moving moments. During a small-town celebration of the nation's twin "fathers" (Lincoln and Lenin), a bedraggled cadre of World War II vets defiantly carry the forbidden Stars and Stripes past the Soviet reviewing stand.

Scarlett O'Hara: The problem is that the maxi-series' commendable message (America risks losing its freedoms if it takes them for granted) has been trivialized by a tide of made-for-prime-time clichés. Not only is this saga S-L-O-W, it's a veritable electronic encyclopedia of "Dynasty"-level banalities ("You don't love me; you just want to use me") interspersed with "Red Dawn" pomposities ("Ideas are more powerful than guns"). And "Amerika" has shamelessly borrowed from nearly every Hollywood military-occupation epic. All that's missing from a scene of wounded warriors sprawled near a railroad station—shot by an overhead camera pulling back—is Scarlett O'Hara beseeching a harried doctor.

Controversy, of course, breeds curiosity, and ABC is predicting that at least 60 million viewers will be curious enough to tune in initially. How many stay tuned over seven nights is, to cite the network's monetary investment, a \$40 million question. Some industry prognosticators believe that the crucial test will come on Tuesday night, when the third installment of "Amerika" goes up against the "Miss USA" pageant on CBS. If that kind of TV face-off sounds bizarre, just contemplate the recent reports of Soviet officials negotiating with ABC for the right to telecast the series in their own country. What has been denounced by some Americans as an exercise in anti-Soviet propaganda, appears, to some Russians, as a potentially useful piece of anti-American propaganda. But will the average viewer there be any more willing to sit through all 14½ hours than the average viewer here? Our guess is that the vote by both will be anti-American.

HARRY F. WATERS
with JANET HUCK in Los Angeles

Mandatory Testing for AIDS?

The question touches off a heated controversy

The idea of widespread AIDS testing has been discussed in the past, but never at such high levels as last week. Officials of the federal Centers for Disease Control suggested that the government might consider recommending mandatory blood testing for exposure to the AIDS virus for pregnant women, couples applying for marriage licenses, people seeking treatment for other sexually transmitted diseases and all patients admitted to hospitals. In a flurry of protest, politicians, ethicists, lawyers and public-health experts condemned the idea as prohibitively expensive, morally and legally wrong and, as a practical matter, unworkable.

The federal government now requires AIDS testing for active-duty military personnel, recruits and Foreign Service officers. All donated blood is also screened. Dr. Robert E. Windom, assistant secretary for health at the Department of Health and Human Services, emphasized that no specific government proposals had been made for expanding mandatory testing to other groups. The CDC, he explained, had simply

announced that a public meeting would be held in Atlanta at the end of this month to examine strategies that might slow the AIDS epidemic.

As many as 2 million Americans are thought to be infected with the AIDS virus without realizing it and can pass it to their sexual partners. Thus, mandatory blood screening might seem like a useful weapon against the epidemic. In a *NEWSWEEK* Poll last week (box), more than three-quarters of those surveyed favored testing for people applying for marriage licenses or admitted to hospitals, and more than half of those surveyed thought the entire U.S. population should be tested.

Intrusion on privacy: But massive, mandatory screening for AIDS remains highly problematic. For one thing, such a program would fail to identify people recently exposed to the AIDS virus, since it takes from six to 12 weeks for antibodies to show up in the blood. And if testing were mandatory, many people who suspect they might have been exposed would simply avoid testing, fearing that a positive result might not remain confidential.

If the results of AIDS tests were made widely available, those who tested positive could face discrimination—as many AIDS victims already have—in employment, housing, health- and life-insurance eligibility; some companies won't provide insurance to applicants who refuse an AIDS blood test. Would pregnant women infected with AIDS be advised to have abortions? (There is a 30 to 60 percent probability that the fetus will be infected.) If one member of a couple seeking a marriage license turned out to carry AIDS antibodies, would the pair be told to abstain from sex? (Many states require a premarital test for syphilis, which differs from AIDS because it is curable and does not carry the same stigma.)

Bioethicist LeRoy Walters of Georgetown University's Kennedy Institute of Ethics believes mandatory testing of the groups mentioned by the CDC "could be quite counterproductive." But he favors vigorous measures to halt the spread of the deadly epidemic. "We need public education that is specific, that is pervasive and that reaches down to young people in the elementary-school years," he declares. "That will be a much more effective and more respectful approach to the American public than a mandatory testing program."

JEAN SELIGMANN with MARY HAGER
in Washington

The Public Says Yes

Despite complicated civil-liberties issues and medical questions, there is widespread support for broader AIDS testing.

Which of the following groups should have their blood tested for AIDS?*

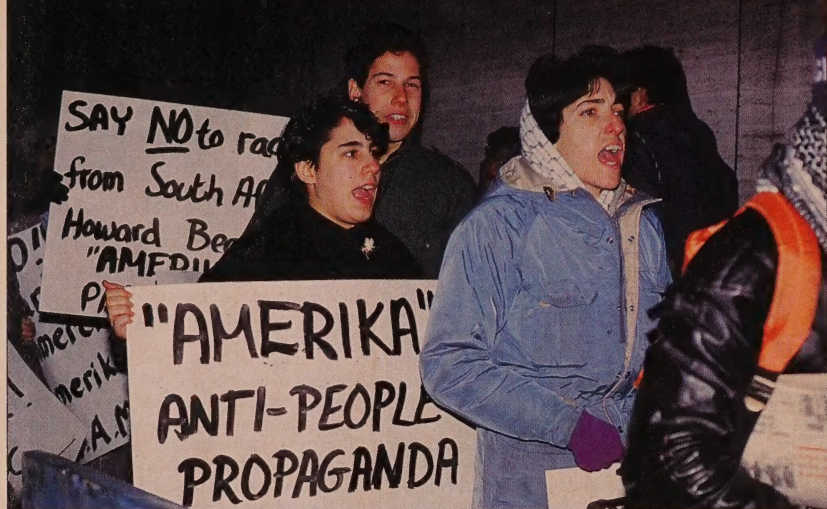
- 87%** High-risk groups such as homosexuals, intravenous drug users and their sex partners
- 71%** People in certain occupations such as food handlers, teachers and health-care workers
- 80%** People applying for marriage licenses
- 77%** People entering hospitals for treatment
- 52%** Everyone

Who should have access to AIDS test results?

	Current	11/86
The government	18%	38%
Employers	15%	16%
Insurance companies	10%	12%
Only the individual tested	58%	42%
Don't know	9%	9%

*Percent saying yes.

For this *NEWSWEEK* Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed 606 Americans over the age of 13 on Feb. 5 and 6 by phone. The margin of error is plus or minus 5 percentage points. The *NEWSWEEK* Poll © 1987 by *NEWSWEEK*, Inc.



SUDHIR—PICTURE GROUP

Thunder from the left: Anti-American peace activists picket ABC's New York headquarters

ABC's Amerikan Dream

Will viewers stay tuned to the maxi-series?

Well, will we or won't we? The United States of America has been hearing about ABC's "Amerika" for months; now the only question is whether it will set aside seven nights next week for a 14½-hour maxi-series that's gotten almost nothing but bad press from day one. This reviewer has a hunch—or at least I think I do after becoming one of the few to screen the seven hours that ABC has finished editing. But my hunch, if you're interested, comes toward the end of this piece, a small test of patience for the larger one (hint) that awaits you. In the meantime, if you should end up confirming my guess, here are some of the people to blame:

The provocateur: Ben Stein is a conservative newspaper columnist whose antipathy toward the allegedly leftist slant of ABC's "The Day After" inspired him to goad the network into making political amends. In 1983 Stein proposed in a Halloween column that ABC make a film about "what life in the U.S. would be like if we lived under Soviet domination."

The potentate: Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Entertainment, is the king of the quality mini-series ("Roots," "The Winds of War," "The Thorn Birds"). Stoddard was intrigued enough by Stein's suggestion to envision a bloodless

Soviet takeover set in 1997. His objective, Stoddard would later explain, was to examine how ordinary Americans might behave under such extraordinary conditions.

The procreator: Donald Wrye is a Hollywood producer-writer-director whose TV credentials (e.g., the steamy "Born Innocent") are somewhat less classy than Stoddard's. When ABC offered him the project, Wrye fretted about being accused

of "arbitrary Russkie-bashing." But he finally agreed with Stoddard that the film could deliver a "civics lesson" in the blessings of democracy. Wrye then begat a 579-page script.

Arrayed against this threesome and the legions of flacks at ABC has been a diverse crowd of critics fighting a guerrilla action. Months before the cameras started rolling, bootleg copies of the script roused thunder from the left (for allegedly pandering to "Red scare paranoia"), from the right (for suggesting that the U.S. military would surrender without a fight), from the Soviet Union (which at first threatened reprisals against ABC's news operations in Moscow, then warned to the notion of showing

its citizenry how anti-Soviet Americans can be) and from the United Nations (which hired attorney Theodore Sorensen to help persuade ABC to run a disclaimer about the show's use of the U.N. insignia on peacekeeping troops portrayed as brutal communist goons).

The furor has also ignited grass-roots America. A Wisconsin housewife named Jane Schirmer has collected 7,000 signatures on a petition calling on ABC to grant broadcast time for opposing viewpoints (though the network has yet to agree, at least six ABC affiliate stations plan to provide such forums). In addition, scores of peace-activist groups distributed informational packets to schools, and one picketed

ABC's New York studios, calling the series a 15-hour commercial for Star Wars.

Clearly nothing could stop this show—not even the withdrawal of \$7 million worth of advertising spots by what was to be its largest sponsor, the Chrysler Corp. The company explained that a fictional depiction of a Soviet conquest of America was hardly the ideal environment for commercials patriotically proclaiming "the pride is back." But while arguments have so far centered on content, the telling issue will be execution. Having seen nearly half the segments, this reviewer can only conclude that Wrye's pedestrian handling of a potentially explosive concept drains whatever dramatic (if not political) voltage "Amerika" might have generated.

In a way that's a pity, because somewhere inside this bloated video behemoth lurks the skele-



ABC

Clichés from the right: A protest against Soviet occupation



KOCHCKO—AFP

With the truce broken, the flow of refugees will continue: Rebel leaders gather in Peshawar

Zia's Afghan Dilemma

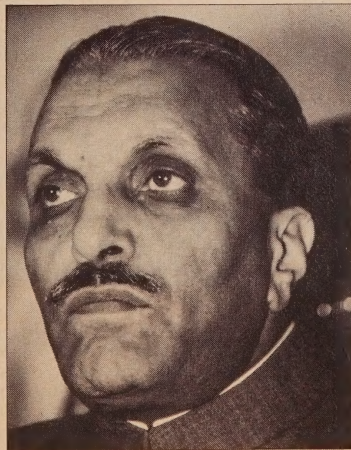
He welcomes a cease-fire—but not at any price

Whether he looked east or west last week, Pakistani President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq saw trouble. Across the border in Afghanistan, a "unilateral, six-month cease-fire" declared by the Afghan government had collapsed. The Soviet troops who occupy the country and the rebels who are resisting them were fighting again—and that meant the flow of Afghan refugees into Pakistan would not be dammed any time soon. Meanwhile, Zia had to deal with distracting new tensions from his nation's old adversary, India. Both Zia and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent thousands of troops to their shared border in recent weeks. The problem was how to pull them back before someone actually started a war.

One of Zia's major difficulties could be resolved if the war in Afghanistan would end, so when the Soviet-backed Afghan government declared the cease-fire last month, Pakistani officials welcomed the initiative—if only as a first step. The Afghan regime, calling for reconciliation, seemed ready to offer resistance leaders a minor role in the occupation government. The guerrillas denounced the move as a ploy to legitimize Soviet control of Afghanistan. They refused to abide by the cease-fire—and after two weeks Soviet troops launched a new offensive against guerrilla bases in the eastern part of the country. "The cease-fire was not realistic," Zain Noorani, Pakistan's minister of state for foreign affairs, told *Newsweek*. "It made no mention of the most important aspect of any settlement—the withdrawal of Soviet troops. How can anyone expect Afghan refugees who have left their country and gone

through misery . . . to go back without that issue being solved first?"

Since the Soviet occupation began seven years ago, 3 million Afghans have crossed into Pakistan; 6,000 more arrive each month. They make up the largest refugee community in the world. (Another 2 million Afghans live in Iran.) Zia has treated his Muslim kin well—and in the Islamic world that has increased his stature. The Afghans are free to move about the country, although most of them live in the 323 camps scattered along the border. For the most part they are not starving or suffering from communicable diseases. International aid programs pour in more than \$200



BALDEV—SYGMA

Trouble on two fronts: The president

million each year to help the refugees; the Pakistani government estimates that it spends about \$500,000 a day to keep the newcomers fed and housed.

Zia has looked the other way while the rebels have set up military training camps in Pakistan and used the country as a transit point for arms shipments into Afghanistan: that wins him appreciation—and increased aid—from the Reagan administration. But guns are not the only thing that some of the refugees deal in. Before the Afghans came, Pakistan's drug problems were minor. Now the country has a huge population of Pakistani addicts and is one of the world's largest heroin producers.

That puts Zia on the spot internationally: the West has pressured him to clamp down on the country's drug traffic.

With the burdens beginning to outweigh the benefits, Zia is getting more eager for a settlement in Afghanistan. Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan flew to Moscow last week for two days of talks. Pakistani officials continued to insist that it was up to the Soviets to set a timetable for a pullout. The visit may have soothed some of the bad feelings between Moscow and Islamabad—at least temporarily. But it accomplished little else. Since December the Soviets have been admitting publicly that the military option in Afghanistan has failed. That leaves diplomacy, but the Kremlin has not eased the political terms on which it will agree to withdraw.

"Maximum restraint": While the Afghan situation drags on, Zia must also find a way to keep Pakistan's frustrations with India from erupting. The two countries have fought three times since 1947, and relations are always strained. In recent weeks more than 200,000 troops from both nations had massed at the border. The foreign secretaries of the countries met last week in Delhi. They agreed to "exercise maximum restraint" and to "avoid provocative action" and even began work on a timetable for a sector-by-sector pullback of forces from the border.

Even with problems on virtually every side, Zia remains in firm control of Pakistan. He has managed to sideline opposition leader Benazir Bhutto: she might well be able to win a free election but her followers do not seem willing to risk an open confrontation with Zia to demand a vote. The quashing of the opposition may free Zia to turn his considerable political skills to finding a solution in Afghanistan—one that would encourage some 3 million people to return to their homeland.

NANCY COOPER with DONNA FOOTE in Islamabad and DEBBIE SEWARD in Moscow



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LINDA WHEELER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Death on Embassy Row: Letelier's car

Confession of a 'Good Soldier'

Pointing to Pinochet

It was Sept. 21, 1976. Orlando Letelier, a former Chilean ambassador to the United States and an outspoken critic of President Augusto Pinochet, drove down Washington's Embassy Row on his way to work at the Institute for Policy Studies. There was a flash of light underneath the car and a violent explosion—and suddenly Letelier and a young woman assistant were dead.

Were they, as FBI investigators have long suspected, victims of a hit team dispatched by Pinochet? That possibility was revived, though hardly confirmed, in a U.S. district court in Washington last week. Saying he was overwhelmed by guilt, a former captain in DINA, the Chilean secret police, Armando Fernández Larios, pleaded guilty to being an accessory after the fact in the car bombing. He said two of his superiors—Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, the former chief of the Chilean secret police, and Col. Pedro Espinoza Bravo, a police operative—organized the assassination. And he said Pinochet had tried to persuade him not to testify.

Small role: By his own account, Fernández played only a small role. His assignment: to find out where Letelier lived and worked, to establish his patterns of movement—and then to keep silent about his mission. Two years after the assassination, he said, he was detained in a Chilean military hospital after telling authorities that he wanted to appear at a Washington extradition hearing following his indictment in the United States, "to clear my name." Later, he said, he was called to the Defense Ministry and found Pinochet awaiting him. "I'm told



AFP

Overwhelmed by guilt: Fernández

that you want to go to the United States," he quoted the president as saying. Fernández says he replied: "The truth is not that I want to go to the United States, but that I am going to the United States." According to Fernández's testimony, Pinochet advised him "to be a good soldier, to tough it out"—that if he did, "this problem will have a happy end."

Fernández, now in the federal witness-protection program, faces up to 10 years in prison—a stiff sentence, considering that the man who in 1978 confessed to planting the bomb, an American-born Chilean DINA employee named Michael Townley, served only five years. The larger question is whether the Justice Department can get Contreras and Espinoza extradited. That seems unlikely. Both men are reputed to be intimates of Pinochet, and in 1979 Chilean courts dismissed out of hand a U.S. extradition request for them and Fernández.

The Chilean government's reaction last week was no less terse. Fernández's statement, a palace spokesman said, was being given "careful study," and the government was prepared to "lend all its cooperation in establishing the truth of the case, in accordance with Chilean law." Chilean law, however, is often Pinochet's law; with the latest allegations pointing at him, he will be in no hurry to cooperate.

MICHAEL MEYER with MARY HELEN SPOONER
in Santiago and bureau reports

The Blowup Over the BBC

It's no good shouting at me in this hysterical fashion," Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher snapped in Parliament last week. A police raid on the Glasgow offices of the British Broadcasting Corp. had ignited one of the noisiest parliamentary confrontations yet in Thatcher's seven-year tenure, and she presented her side over catcalls and cries of "Fascist!" The government was not directly responsible for the police action, Thatcher insisted. But the material seized in the 27-hour search, she said, did present a threat to national security. "You are killing the rule of law in this country," Labor leader Neil Kinnock fulminated, and former Labor Minister Roy Jenkins accused her government of "acting like a second-rate police state."

Police in Glasgow had carted away two truckloads of reporters' notes, letters, tape recordings and more than 200 reels of videotape and film, virtually all relating to "Secret Society," a projected six-part BBC documentary. The first installment was to disclose the Defense Ministry's top-secret plans for Zircon, a \$750 million spy satellite that Britain hoped to position over the Soviet Union. Free-lance journalist Duncan Campbell had researched the program, and when the BBC—under government pressure—canceled the Zircon episode three weeks ago, Campbell published his findings in the *New Statesman*. Already embarrassed by leaks from the intelligence establishment (*Newsweek*, Dec. 15, 1986), the government clearly hoped the seized material would betray the identity of Campbell's Defense Ministry mole.

Leaders of Britain's news media and the opposition saw Thatcher's national-security claim as a bald attempt to turn the Official Secrets Act into a political weapon against investigative journalism. (The 1911 law makes it a crime to disclose any information that is judged not in the national interest.) Thatcher believes the BBC displays a left-wing bias—a charge the corporation denies. The rift dates at least to 1982, when evenhanded BBC coverage of the Falklands War angered Thatcher, who expected support from the government-funded broadcast service. Tensions have grown recently. Two days before the Glasgow raid, Alisdair Milne, the BBC's director-general, suddenly resigned at the request of its board of governors, almost all of them Thatcher appointees. The feud is sure to continue even under a new chief. Lamented one senior BBC executive: "It's an adversarial situation. The government's feeling is: if you aren't for me, you're against me."

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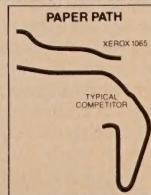
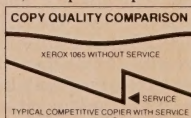
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**They say it is
anti-abortion . . .
but it is really
anti-woman and
anti-birth control**

In 1973, the United States Supreme Court ruled that laws making abortion a crime, under most circumstances, were unconstitutional. The Court said that abortion during the first six months of pregnancy should be a decision between a woman and her doctor, and that a woman could have an abortion during the last three months of pregnancy if her health was endangered.

After a century of criminal laws prohibiting abortion, women felt relief because they no longer had to

- risk possible death or permanent damage, or face the degradation of back-alley abortions
- secretly finance outrageously expensive abortions in foreign countries or distant cities
- endure the nightmare of having to attest to a panel of unknown doctors their own mental or physical inability to complete an unwanted pregnancy
- face without recourse the life-long prospect of childlessness out of fear that genetic problems would doom any child they might have to a devastating birth defect or disease.

Opponents of reproductive rights wasted no time in beginning a new campaign to overturn the Supreme Court decision and to ban virtually all abortions. They proposed an HLA (Human Life Amendment) not just to ban abortion or to simply make it criminal as it was between the 1860's and 1973, but rather to declare fertilized eggs and fetuses "persons" under the U.S. Constitution, theoretically entitling them to the same rights and responsibilities as you and I. The impact is to make the rights of a fertilized egg superior to the rights of a woman.

*The HLA is pending before Congress now.
Just read what they propose.*

The Helms/Dornan HLA reads:

"The paramount right to life is vested in each human being from the moment of fertilization without regard to age, health, or condition of dependency."

There are many versions of the HLA; however, the ones sponsored by Senator Helms and Representatives Hyde, Dornan and others, the HLA leaders in the Congress, do not allow for the ending of any pregnancy for any reason. *Even abortions for pregnancies resulting from rape or incest, would be forbidden. Even those abortions necessary to save the life or preserve the health of the mother would not be allowed.*

Supporters of an HLA, like the National Right to Life Committee, the Moral Majority, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Mormon Church, and Fundamentalist churches, Senator Jesse Helms, Representatives Henry Hyde and Robert Dornan, vow to have the HLA pass Congress by 1983 by obtaining a two-thirds vote of those present and voting in the House and in the Senate.

What Does the HLA Mean?

After a year of hearings before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments (1974-1975), it is clear that the HLA would mean many different things and that many of its provisions are dangerous and beyond reason.

Proponents and opponents alike agree that the HLA requires the fetus to be considered a person

- even when it is just a fertilized egg, visible only under a microscope
- even when no one, not even the pregnant woman, knows it exists
- even when it is a fetus that cannot survive outside the womb
- even when it will die immediately upon birth because of severe defects, for example, if it has no brain, no heart . . .

Many proponents and opponents of the HLA have also testified that the proposed amendment would radically alter current law and even the law prior to 1973, so that under the criminal law the fertilized egg and the fetus would legally be a person with full constitutional rights.

What would certainly follow upon an adoption of any of them [HLA's] would be a drastic upheaval of our established law and legal traditions. . . . these amendments must be rejected if we are to avoid legal chaos which would seriously threaten our present governmental system. . . .

* * *

[A Human Life Amendment] would create a whole new area of congressional control, namely the protection of unborn "persons" against injury by any "person." . . . Any attempt to enforce the "right to life" of the fetus "person" would involve not only a wholesale invasion of the right of privacy of all women of child bearing age, but would necessitate a federal law enforcement apparatus which would threaten the privacy of all of us. Thus, in the interests of the unborn we would not only be giving them protection far beyond any accorded to those of us who have already been born, but we would have taken a long step toward creating an all powerful federal bureaucracy and impairing the essential right of privacy of all born persons, which would be permanently and irrevocably in jeopardy."

Harriet Pilpel, Esq., Senior Partner
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, New York
Testimony Before Senate Subcommittee on
Constitutional Amendments

HLA Hearings—Part IV, pp. 229 and 227. March 10, 1975

Under laws defining murder, manslaughter, assault, kidnapping and a myriad of other crimes involving a person as victim, the fertilized egg and fetus would be included as potential victims.

This could mean that

- every miscarriage or spontaneous abortion must be investigated to see if it was caused intentionally or accidentally by the pregnant woman or someone else and thus subject them to criminal prosecution
- crimes involving a pregnant woman, even if no one knows she's pregnant, would be a crime against two people.
- women who have abortions and those who help them obtain abortions—doctors and family and friends—could be prosecuted for premeditated murder—the intentional killing of a "person"—the fertilized egg or fetus.
- many different forms of birth control used by millions of women could be declared illegal.

HLA Threatens Birth Control

The most widely used birth control methods other than sterilization are the Intrauterine Device (IUD) and birth control pills. The IUD and non-estrogen birth control pills work, in some instances, by preventing implantation of the fertilized egg, it is clear that they would have to be illegal under the HLA.

The Threat is Real—the Intent is Clear

"... the pill and the IUD operate as abortifacients, ... Taken that as given, I do not see how a Federal licensing agency, after the ratification of this amendment [HLA], could license the use of these drugs and devices unless to preserve the life of the mother ..."

*Robert M. Byrn, Esq.
Professor, Fordham University School of Law
HLA Hearings—Part IV, pp. 215-216.
March 10, 1975*

"... the IUD is already abortifacient, and the pill may be acting as an abortifacient in any given cycle in any given woman."

*John Kippley, Executive Director
Couple to Couple League
National Catholic Reporter, Sept. 5, 1980*

"Any constitutional amendment that allows abortions previous to implantation will fail to protect the whole biological lifespan of human beings."

*Senator Jesse Helms, HLA Sponsor
HLA Hearings, Part I, p. 92, March 6, 1974*



Enforcement of the HLA Would be a Nightmare

Should an HLA be added to the Constitution, its enforcement raises the spectre of massive government intrusion in people's most personal, private lives. From the moment of fertilization (when the sperm penetrates the ovum in the fallopian tube) there would be a "person" in existence as defined by the "paramount" HLA. Consequently, the government would be obligated to protect this "person." Some experts believe that in order for the government to ascertain its existence,

- monthly pregnancy tests for all women from puberty to menopause may be required, or
- registration of every pregnancy or suspected pregnancy could be mandated.

Then, the government would have to protect it from the moment of conception, possibly by imposing a safety regimen on every pregnant woman.

Safety Regimens for Pregnant Women? Ridiculous? No

Our opponents do not believe that a woman has the right to control her body. In fact, this point is underscored in the following excerpt from an article by Gordon C. Zahn in *Commonweal*:

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

☐ I wish to join NOW and commit myself to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising full rights and responsibilities in partnership with men.

*02 Last Name _____/First Name _____

*04 Address _____

*05 City _____

*06 State _____ Zip _____

*23 Telephone No. _____

I enclose:

\$ _____ National Dues (\$20)
\$ _____ Reduced Dues (\$6-\$19)
\$ _____ State Dues
\$ _____ Chapter Dues
\$ _____ Total Enclosed

Mail to:

NOW
Box 7813
Washington, D.C.
20044

"Even if one were to accept the characterization of a woman's body as 'property' . . . , the claim to absolute rights of use and disposal of that property could not be taken seriously. The owner of a badly needed residential building its [sic] not, or at least should not be, free to evict his tenants to suit a selfish whim or to convert his property to some frivolous or non-essential use. In such a case we would insist upon the traditional distinction which describes property as private in ownership but social in use."

(emphasis in original)

(Zahn's article was entered into the record by Senator Mark Hatfield, HLA Hearings—Part I, p. 20, March 6, 1974)

HLA Threatens a Woman's Life

Senator Helms and other abortion opponents have argued that the provision, in some versions of the HLA, to allow abortion only to prevent the death of the mother should be eliminated. Senator Helms believes that one life (that of the the mother) cannot be favored over the other (the fertilized egg or fetus).

Other supporters of HLA also believe that the HLA should give no preference to the women's life:

"As for an amendment which would generally prohibit abortion but permit it in certain exceptional circumstances, such as when a woman's life is considered to be threatened, the Catholic Conference does not endorse such an approach in principle and could not conscientiously support it."

*Testimony of His Eminence Humberto Cardinal Medeiros
Archbishop of Boston*

HLA Hearings—Part I, p. 224, March 7, 1974

Stop HLA Now!

All those who value women's lives and those who value reproductive rights including the right to use various forms of birth control must work against the passage of HLA by the Congress

- Find out how your Senators and Congressional representatives stand on the HLA
- Find out how your state legislators stand on the HLA
- Inform other people about the real meaning of the anti-abortion movement and its HLA.
- Join NOW and work through the local chapters, state organizations and the national organization to preserve and expand reproductive rights.



Copyright ©1980
National Organization for Women, Inc.
NOW Action Center
425 13th Street, N.W., Suite 1048
Washington, D.C. 20004



**Religious
Coalition
for
Abortion
Rights**

ABORTION:

**Why
religious organizations
in the United States
want to keep it
legal.**

WHY ARE RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED ABOUT ABORTION?

For many reasons.

Many religious denominations have a strong tradition of advocating personal decision-making in matters of family and sexuality. The position of the American Baptist Churches thus begins,

Because Christ calls us to affirm the freedom of persons and the sanctity of life, we recognize that abortion should be a matter of responsible personal decision.

Another concern of the religious community is the quality of life not only of those already living, but also of the children who may be born. The United Methodist Church says,

Because human life is distorted when it is unwanted and unloved, parents seriously violate their responsibility when they bring into the world children for whom they cannot provide love.

Concern for the health, welfare and full “personhood” of women is important to every denomination. Theresa Hoover of the Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church and the Racial Justice Commission, Young Women’s Christian Association, explains:

In the sight of most Protestant denominations, to equate personhood with an unborn fetus is to dehumanize the woman, to consider her a mere “thing” through which the fetus is passing. To deny this essential tenet of our beliefs — the concept of personhood — would constitute a gross violation of our Christian faith.

And religious organizations are concerned about abortion because ultimately abortion is a religious issue.

WHAT MAKES ABORTION A RELIGIOUS ISSUE?

The question of when “personhood” begins.

Most people who oppose abortion under any circumstance, even to save the life of the preg-

nant woman or child, are motivated by the belief that separate, equal human life — and ensoulment — begin at the moment of conception. A fetus is thus a “person” and abortion is “murder.” This is a theological belief, not a biological fact. It has been disputed by theologians for centuries.

Catholic theology, which now regards the early fetus as a person, did not always do so. The Church first adopted the belief of Aristotle, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas that ensoulment occurs several weeks after conception. Pope Innocent III, who ruled at the turn of the 13th century, made that belief part of Church doctrine, allowing abortion until fetal animation (approximately four months after conception). It was not until 1869 that the Church prohibited abortion at any time and for any reason — even to save the life of the woman.

Judaism, in contrast, has firmly and consistently held that the moment of ensoulment is at birth. The United Synagogue of America and the Rabbinical Assembly, which represent Conservative Judaism, have stated that abortions,

though serious even in the early stages of conception, *are not to be equated with murder*, hardly more than is the decision not to become pregnant.

Ensoulment theologies vary widely among the Protestant denominations. In addition, some members of the religious community address the issue of abortion in different terms.

The Lutheran Church in America contrasts the fetus with the person:

Since the fetus is the organic beginning of human life, the termination of its development is always a serious matter. Nevertheless, *a qualitative distinction must be made between its claims and the rights of a responsible person made in God's image who is in living relationships with God and other beings*. This understanding of responsible personhood is congruent with the historical Lutheran teaching and practice whereby only living persons are baptized.

The Young Women's Christian Association is concerned about the self-determination of the

individual woman:

[W]e affirm that a highly ethical stance is one that has concern for the quality of life of the living as well as for the potential for life....Our decision does not mean that we advocate abortion as the most desirable solution to the problem, but rather that a woman should have the right to make the decision.

WOULD A RELIGIOUS ADVISOR EVER SUPPORT A DECISION TO ABORT?

Yes.

In 1967 a small group of ministers and rabbis established the Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion to counsel and help women who were faced with the crisis of a dangerous or unwanted pregnancy. Within a year the organization was national and included over 1,200 clergy, all of whom knowingly risked legal retribution (many were, in fact, arrested). The organization's statement of purpose declared:

Believing as clergymen that there are higher laws and moral obligations transcending legal codes, we agree that it is our pastoral responsibility and religious duty to give aid and assistance to all women with problem pregnancies.

The determination of *when* abortion is morally justified, or even morally desirable, also varies widely among denominations.

The statement of the United Methodist Church continues:

We believe that continuance of a pregnancy which endangers the life or health of the mother, or poses other serious problems concerning the life, health, or mental capability of the child to be, is not a moral necessity. In such cases, *we believe the path of mature Christian judgment may indicate the advisability of abortion.*

The United Presbyterian Church, USA has long held that "women should have full freedom of personal choice concerning the completion or termination of their pregnancies." And the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which rep-

resents Reform Judaism, states simply, "We express our confidence in the ability of the woman to exercise her ethical and religious judgment in making her decision."

If abortion is a religious issue. . .

And religious theologies differ. . .

And each denomination counsels its members according to its own theology. . .

WOULDN'T A LAW PROHIBITING ABORTION VIOLATE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY?

Exactly.

A law which *mandated* abortion would violate the religious liberty of those people who believe that abortion is never an acceptable alternative.

And a law which *prohibited* abortion would violate the religious liberty of those people who believe that abortion may be a moral alternative to an unwanted or dangerous pregnancy.

If "personhood" were defined by law as beginning at the moment of conception, one particular theology — and only one — would be legal. The millions of Americans who do not share that theology would be denied the right to make decisions about abortion according to the teachings of their own religion. They would be compelled instead to live (and seek medical care) according to the doctrine of the "legal" religion.

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) summarizes the issue this way:

[We] respect the differences in religious beliefs concerning abortion and oppose, in accord with the principle of religious liberty, any attempt to legislate a specific religious opinion or belief concerning abortion upon all Americans.

The issue of abortion is a crucial test of religious liberty — one of the cornerstones of our democracy.

RELIGIOUS COALITION

The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights is comprised of 26 national religious organizations — Jewish, Protestant, Catholic and others. Because each denomination approaches the issue of abortion from the unique perspective of its own theology, members hold widely varying views on when abortion is morally justified. But all agree that there are situations in which abortion may be a moral alternative.

Every person, therefore, must have the freedom to make decisions concerning abortion in light of his or her own conscience and religious beliefs, and in accordance with responsible medical practice. Only in this way will the religious liberty we currently enjoy be maintained.

The U.S. Supreme Court recognized that abortion is a personal decision when, in 1973, it removed abortion from the realm of criminal law and made it a legal medical procedure. "We recognize the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child," the Court ruled. "That right necessarily includes the right of a woman to decide whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

Shortly after that Supreme Court decision, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights was established to oppose a Constitutional amendment that would overturn the decision, or legislation that would restrict access to legal abortion.

The Coalition operates on both the national and state levels. Individuals may support Coalition activities by participating in its nationwide legislative alert network (*Dispatch*), by subscribing to its monthly newsletter (*Options*), and by working with its state affiliates. For further information, please contact the Coalition office.

FOR ABORTION RIGHTS

National Ministries
American Baptist Churches
American Ethical Union
National Women's Conference
American Ethical Union
American Humanist Association
American Jewish Congress
Women's Division
American Jewish Congress
B'nai B'rith Women
Catholics for a Free Choice
Division of Homeland Ministries
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
Episcopal Women's Caucus
National Council of Jewish Women
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
General Assembly Mission Board
Presbyterian Church in the US
Committee on Women's Concerns
Presbyterian Church in the US
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association
Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
Board for Homeland Ministries
United Church of Christ
Office for Church in Society
United Church of Christ
Board of Church and Society
United Methodist Church
Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries
United Methodist Church
The Program Agency
United Presbyterian Church, USA
Council on Women and the Church
United Presbyterian Church, USA
United Synagogue of America
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Young Women's Christian Association

**Dedicated
to Religious
and Reproductive Freedom**



The logo of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights combines the symbols of two great religions. The Christian cross is made up of many branches rather than two strokes to represent the many sects of Christianity. Its lower branch is part of a menorah, symbol of the Old Testament, representing both the Jewish faith and the roots of Christianity. Resting on a base of three vertical bars (ancient symbol of an active intellect), the cross and menorah are intertwined to demonstrate the unity of purpose of the Coalition.

**Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights
Education Fund, Inc.
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-7032**

THE NEW RIGHT

VS. OUR RIGHTS

***A Full-Day Conference on
Preserving Reproductive Rights
In the Current Political Climate***

***February 3, 1982
Boston Park Plaza Hotel
Boston, MA***

***presented by:
Planned Parenthood
League of Massachusetts***

In order to take up the gauntlet that the New Right has thrown down for 1982, citizens concerned with preserving personal freedoms must prepare. Planned Parenthood is offering that opportunity at *The New Right vs. Our Rights*. Through the knowledge and experience of a wide range of professionals, conferees can gain insight and develop strategies for confronting the New Right's impending challenge.

PROGRAM

8:45 REGISTRATION

9:30 WELCOME

Phillip G. Stubblefield, M.D.
President, PPLM

9:40 OPENING REMARKS

Nicki Nichols Gamble
Executive Director, PPLM

9:45 A CALL TO ACTION

Alfred Moran
Executive Vice-President
Planned Parenthood of
New York City

**10:15 IN DEFENSE OF REPRODUCTIVE
RIGHTS**

A panel presentation with Kenneth Edelin, M.D., Nancy Gertner, Esq., and Patricia McMahon, Executive Director, Catholics for a Free Choice, will be moderated by Nicki Nichols Gamble. Following the presentation, panelists will respond to questions from the audience.

11:45 INFORMAL EXCHANGE

An opportunity to meet with panelists and colleagues. (Cash Bar)

1:00 LUNCHEON

1:45

**THE FAMILY ISSUE
AND THE NEW RIGHT**

George McGovern
Former U.S. Senator, South
Dakota
Chairman, Americans for
Common Sense

2:45

PUBLIC AFFAIRS WORKSHOP

a. Disarming the Opposition

The New Right and anti-abortionists come well-equipped with catchy and convincing slogans. Learn the best way to defeat them publicly and privately.

b. Lobbying on Beacon Hill

Learn to lobby effectively against the New Right. Explore specific techniques and strategies. Determine who should be lobbied and when. What arguments work?

c. Lobbying on Capitol Hill

Get an update on the New Right's social agenda. How serious is the threat? Learn lobbying techniques that work with Congress.

d. The Power of the College Campus

How can students join the fight against the New Right? Learn how to organize and become a viable political force.

e. Working with the Media

Find out how to make the media work for you. Talk to professionals about your media needs. Who do you contact and when?

4:00

DEPARTURE

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ ZIP CODE _____

ORGANIZATION _____

PUBLIC AFFAIRS WORKSHOPS (Indicate 1st and 2nd choice):

_____ a. *Disarming the Opposition*

_____ b. *Lobbying on Beacon Hill*

_____ c. *Lobbying on Capitol Hill*

_____ d. *The Power of the College Campus*

_____ e. *Working with the Media*

To register, please send form and fee of \$20.00 by January 28, 1982.* Make checks payable to: PLANNED PARENTHOOD. Send to:

Special Event, PLANNED PARENTHOOD LEAGUE OF MASSACHUSETTS, INC.
99 Bishop Richard Allen Drive, Cambridge, MA 02139

I will not be able to attend, but please find enclosed my \$ _____ contribution.

For more information call Jeff Lubitz at PPLM, (617) 492-0518.

*A limited number of spaces are available for full-time students at \$10.00.

IF
THEY
WIN . . .

WE
LOSE .

**99 Bishop Richard Allen Drive
Cambridge, Mass. 02139**



**Religious
Freedom**



Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights

OF
MASSACHUSETTS
1326 Washington Street
West Newton, Massachusetts 02165
(617) 964-7640

LOBBYING EVALUATION

Please fill this out as completely as you can after your visit.
We need your input in order to be more effective with our legislators.
Thank you!

Name/Address/Phone: _____

Name of Legislator (or Aide, including title) _____

Place and Time of Meeting: _____

How many people there? _____ How long? _____

1. Do you feel the legislator is pro-choice? Why/Why not? How firm is his/her position?
2. What are his/her reservations about taking a pro-choice position?
3. Does s/he feel comfortable talking about the issue?
4. Does s/he feel that her/his constituency is pro-choice or anti-choice?
5. Does s/he feel that the outcome of her/his election was affected by her/his position on abortion? If so, how?
6. Would he/she support state ratification of a federal constitutional amendment banning abortion?

(Please use reverse side if necessary)



Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights

OF
MASSACHUSETTS
1326 Washington Street
West Newton, Massachusetts 02165
(617) 964-7640

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(Please use reverse side if necessary)

DISPATCH



Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 543-7032

January 7, 1982

97-3

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PENDING IN SENATE

S.J. Res. 110: "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution. The Congress and the several states have the concurrent power to restrict and prohibit abortion; Provided that a provision of a law of a State which is more restrictive than a conflicting provision of a law of Congress shall govern."

BACKGROUND: The anti-abortion forces have at last recognized that, despite their exaggerated claims of election victories in 1980, they not only do not have the votes in Congress to pass an abortion prohibition amendment, they do not have support in the state legislatures to ratify such a measure. More importantly, they know that they do not have the support of the American people. A confidential memo, "The Case for a New Pro-Life Strategy," prepared by an official of the National Right to Life Committee frankly admits that "77% of the population would oppose the ideal position of the pro-life movement."

In response to this they have developed a new scenario to attain their goals. The Human Life Federalism Amendment, introduced by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), is designed to avoid all of the serious questions surrounding the abortion debate: the widespread concern for the physical, emotional and social needs of women; the constitutional right to privacy and individual liberty; and the desire to protect freedom of religious conscience and separation of church and state.

This new amendment, which gives Congress and the states concurrent power to restrict or prohibit abortion, is only the first step in a three-part plan to attain their ultimate objective by using a "back door" approach. Their strategy document explains:

"The first amendment (S.J. Res. 110), which is the key to destroying the abortion establishment, is phrased 'softly' and will be virtually impossible for the opposition to attack using their 'stop HLA' game plan."

The anti-choice forces would like to have the Hatch Amendment perceived as a compromise. On the surface, it appears to offer a little bit of something to everyone. For those Members of Congress who would like to be rid of the issue, it seems to offer the opportunity to "pass the buck" without having to cast a vote either for or against legal abortion. For those concerned with the health and welfare of women, there is the claim that any subsequent legislation could take those concerns into account. For those who would like to return to the "good old days" before 1973 when the legalization of abortion was left to the states, there is an apparent gesture to state jurisdiction.

Those looking for easy answers to the complex question of abortion rights should not be deceived by this approach. Waiting in the wings is step two of the anti-abortion strategy: federal legislation to prohibit all abortions and to halt the manufacture, use and distribution of all contraceptives which may act as abortifacients (the IUD, the low estrogen birth control pill and the newly developed morning-after prostaglandins). The anti-choice forces claim that they have a commitment from the necessary majority in both Houses of Congress to pass the most stringent anti-abortion laws. Once they have eliminated the practice of abortion in this country, they plan to proceed to step three...the passage of their cherished HLA which would confer personhood and citizenship on the fertilized egg.

The Hatch "Federal Control Amendment" is not a compromise. It is not a states' right amendment; no state legislature will ever have the opportunity to regulate abortion. The amendment is nothing less than a devious scheme to give 51 Senators and 218 Representatives the power to ban abortion and thereby subvert the wishes and the will of 80-90% of our citizens.

Senator Hatch began holding hearings in early October, 1981, in the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution (which he chairs) on several constitutional "remedies" to reverse legalized abortion. On December 16, the Subcommittee voted 4-0 to favorably report S.J. Res. 110 to the full Senate Judiciary Committee. During late January or early February the Judiciary Committee and then the full Senate is expected to take action on this proposal - or possibly on some other amended but no less threatening proposal to prohibit abortion. It is imperative that we act now to protect legal abortion.

RECOMMENDED ACTION Try to do as many of the following as you can:

1. Contact both your Senators. Address letters to: The Honorable _____, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. For telegrams, mailgrams, or Public Opinion Messages, call Western Union. While the Senate is on recess, calls should go to the District offices. After January 25, phone the Capitol Switchboard at (202) 224-3121 and ask for your Senator.

Suggestions for an effective message:

- *indicate your strong support for the Roe v. Wade decision;
- *urge their active opposition to any constitutional amendment to overturn Roe, including S.J. Res. 110 or a states rights amendment;
- *show understanding and sensitivity to the complexity of the issue and to the people who are faced with problem pregnancies. How would the legislation affect you and your family?
- *indicate the strength of your commitment: are you a registered voter, and will this issue be a factor in determining your vote? Do you talk to others who share your views, and encourage them to become involved?
- *send along copies of any pro-choice editorials or articles which appear in local papers.

2. Make an appointment to visit your Senators over the January recess, or attend a town meeting and express your concern about abortion rights and the Hatch Amendment. Ask pro-choice clergy, community leaders, doctors, lawyers and friends to join you.
3. Encourage your minister or rabbi to preach about abortion rights, or organize an educational forum to explore your denomination's position and the anti-abortion legislation now pending.
4. Support RCAR and other pro-choice organizations through personal donations.
5. Duplicate this DISPATCH and pass it on to family and friends.

6. If you want to become more involved:

Consider becoming a contact person for your organization or circle. Let us know by sending your name, address, telephone number, and the name of your congregation or organization to RCAR and we will pass it on to our state affiliate or other local pro-choice activist. Organize a phone bank of people willing to write or phone their Senators on this issue. You will be contacted when a vote is imminent. A last minute effort like this can make the difference between victory and defeat.

Become active in the political process. Make sure you are registered to vote. Identify pro-choice candidates and support their campaign financially or by volunteer work. Make sure they know why you support them! OR if the candidate you support is not pro-choice, make sure they know you disagree with their position. Too many politicians endorse an anti-abortion position only to come to Washington and find their constituents are pro-choice, but by then they are already committed.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST S.J. RES. 110 1. S.J. Res. 110 removes abortion from the realm of private, moral decision-making and reduces it to a matter of public opinion polls and political power. Women must remain free to make for themselves a personal decision which has such a profound effect on their lives and their families, in light of their own moral convictions and without interference from the government.

2. S.J. Res. 110 is not a compromise amendment. The intention of those who support it is to ban abortion completely. The Hatch Amendment is merely the first step in their strategy, and allows them to prohibit abortion by simple majority vote - something they could not achieve through a constitutional amendment since they lack the necessary 2/3 majority.

3. Fundamental rights of the individual, including the right of privacy, are protected by the Constitution against the whim of popular opinion. As Professor Laurence Tribe of Harvard states: "We don't arrive at liberties through consensus...Democracy has always been limited." S.J. Res. 110 violates that tradition by eliminating a personal right and establishing a "right" of government to determine by majority vote who may obtain an abortion. It creates a most dangerous precedent of using the Constitution itself to establish a process for limiting or restricting civil and constitutional rights.

4. Senator Hatch believes that his amendment would allow for a consensus on abortion to develop in this country. However, as Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) has said, "Constitutional amendments memorialize consensus. They do not create it." There is clearly no national agreement on abortion. S.J. Res. 110 would not resolve the controversy by promoting political compromise, since those who hold opposing views do so on the basis of sincere religious belief. On an issue as divisive, as personal and as emotional as abortion, the only legitimate policy is for government to protect the right of all to exercise their own beliefs.

5. S.J. Res. 110 threatens to distort the political process. It would escalate the present confrontation and result in chaos for our legislative bodies and in confusion for the public. Harrassing abortion amendments will be used to obstruct the progress of legislation, and access to abortion will become a political football. S.J. Res. 110 encourages single-issue politics and penalizes those who try to make responsible, balanced electoral decisions. It legitimizes and promotes the use of high pressure political tactics on the part of special interest groups like the Moral Majority.

DISPATCH



Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 543-7032

97-2

HUMAN LIFE BILL (HLB, S. 158/S. 1741)

BACKGROUND: In January of this year Sen. Helms (R-NC) introduced S. 158, the Human Life Bill, which defines the term "person" in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution to include the fetus from the moment of conception. The bill was designed to reverse the 1973 Supreme Court decision decriminalizing abortion. Sen. John East (R-NC) began extensive hearings on S. 158 in the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, which he chairs, in April. He had hoped that testimony from a hand-picked group of scientists and legal scholars would support the two basic premises of the bill: 1) that "actual human life begins at conception," and 2) that Congress has the authority to define the terms of the Constitution under the enforcement clauses of the 5th and 14th Amendments. The plan was to rush the bill quickly through subcommittee and committee - both of which have an anti-choice majority - and onto the floor for a vote before the pro-choice groups could mobilize against it.

However, a tremendous outcry from the public and his Senate colleagues forced Sen. East to expand the hearings and to guarantee a balanced slate of witnesses. With Sen. Baucus and his staff holding East to his commitment of fairness, the hearings demonstrated conclusively that the vast majority of scholarly opinion rejects both of the bill's tenets. Nevertheless, the bill was reported out of the subcommittee by a vote of 3-2 in July. The subcommittee recommended, however, that the full Judiciary Committee postpone considering S. 158 until the Constitution Subcommittee could hold hearings and report a constitutional amendment on abortion. (Sen. Hatch began holding hearings on an abortion constitutional amendment in October and expects to report out an amendment late this year or early next. An alert will be issued in the near future on a new version of constitutional amendment sponsored by Hatch and endorsed by the U.S. Catholic Conference.)

Meanwhile, Sen. Helms, not satisfied with the slower committee process, has reintroduced the HLB, this time as S. 1741, and managed by parliamentary maneuvering to by-pass the committee and have the bill placed directly on the Senate calendar. Sen. Howard Baker (R-TN), as current Majority Leader, has indicated that he will not stand in the way of S. 1741, and in fact has promised Helms that the "social issues", including abortion, will be permitted on the floor for debate and possibly for a vote sometime in December. Although Sen. Helms may choose not to bring the HLB up at that time, anti-abortion groups that support the bill are embarked on an all-out campaign to pressure the Senators into passing it.

It is at least possible that at some point the administration will get into the act and press for passage of the HLB. President Reagan has already endorsed the concept and the Attorney General, William French Smith, has said that the Justice Department is prepared to pursue legislation to limit the ability of federal courts to protect "implied" constitutional rights, like the right to privacy, which is the basis for the Roe decision.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Constituent pressure is the only way to ensure that S. 158/S. 1741 will not become law. If the Senate passes S. 1741, then we can expect a discharge petition to bring the HLB to the floor in the House as well.

Senators must be urged to oppose S. 1741 and any other bill which would reverse the Roe v. Wade decision. If your Senators are pro-choice encourage them to speak out on the floor and to their colleagues in private against this legislation. House Members should be discouraged from signing any discharge petitions. Every message should include a statement of support for the 1973 Supreme Court decision in Roe, or else Senators may feel that if S. 1741 is defeated they must then support some form of Human Life Amendment or even a "compromise" constitutional amendment later on.

1. Letters should be sent to: The Honorable ____, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 and The Honorable ____, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. If possible, send a carbon to President Reagan, or write him directly expressing opposition to efforts to limit the ability of the federal courts to protect constitutional rights.
2. Make appointments to visit your Senators while they are in the state, or meet with Senate staff.
3. Write letters to the editor - Members of Congress pay special attention to these. If pro-choice editorials or letters appear in your local paper, clip and send them to your Senators.
4. Pass this Dispatch along to your friends, and relatives, your ministers, your doctor, etc., and encourage them to contact their elected officials.
5. Remember, there may be as little as one month to generate the groundswell of public opposition necessary to counter the anti-abortion momentum on S. 1741.

IMPACT OF THE BILL: If S. 1741 were to pass, it would:

1. Precipitate a constitutional crisis by directly challenging the court's role as final arbiter of the Constitution and as guarantor of constitutional rights. In 1973, the Supreme Court determined in Roe v. Wade, that "the word 'person' as used in the 14th Amendment does not include the unborn." Nevertheless, supporters of the HLB believe that Congress' right to enforce the 14th Amendment also permits them to further define the terms, including the word "person", through legislative fact-finding. This assumption jeopardizes the delicate system of checks and balances which has been so important to the protection of American rights. S. 1741 would also remove laws enforcing this definition of person from the jurisdiction of the lower federal courts.
2. Set a dangerous precedent. "Congressional power to rescue an otherwise unconstitutional law by the expedient of redefining the terms of the 14th Amendment would have dizzying implications well beyond the abortion controversy....Reducing the Constitution to whatever those in power want it to mean is an awfully high price to pay for making Roe disappear." (Profs. John Hart Ely and Laurence Tribe, Harvard Law School).
3. Require states to pass legislation to implement and enforce fetal personhood
 - **S. 1741 would prohibit states from using public funds or facilities for abortions, even if a woman's life is at stake, if she is a victim of rape or incest, or if the fetus she carries is found to be severely deformed. Currently, states are free to fund Medicaid abortions with state revenues despite the severe limitations on Federal funds.
 - **S. 1741 would virtually eliminate amniocentesis and second trimester abortions, since nearly all are performed in hospitals which receive public funds.
 - **S. 1741 permits states to outlaw all abortions, by providing a "compelling state interest in the life of the fetus as a person entitled to equal protection."
 - **S. 1741 allows states to prohibit the IUD and some forms of the pill which prevent implantation of the fertilized ovum.
 - **This statute does not require state action in order to take effect. Even if states that do not pass anti-abortion legislation on the basis of this statute, any interested party - organization or individual - may initiate court action on behalf of a fetus to enforce equal protection under the Constitution.
4. Impinge on existing constitutional rights
 - **The rights of the pregnant woman would be subordinate to the rights of the fetus, and she may be challenged legally for any activity which jeopardizes the fetus.
 - **By enacting one definition of personhood into law, direct and indirect sanctions would be placed against the teachings of those religious denominations which do not share that belief, and which believe that abortion may be a moral alternative to a problem pregnancy.
 - **Any enforcement provisions would necessarily violate a woman's right to privacy, and the decision on whether to carry a pregnancy to term could no longer be an individual decision.
 - ** S. 1741 opens the way for differing constitutional standards for the separate states.
5. Adversely affect the lives of millions of American women
 - **As many as, or more than, 1 million women every year may be forced to (a) carry unwanted or dangerous pregnancies to term, regardless of risks to their own health or the well-being of their families, or (b) seek unsafe, illegal abortions, with risks to life and health, and of prosecution for a crime.
 - **Close to 1 million teenagers had unintended pregnancies in 1978; 30,000 of these were children under 15, and a vast majority were unmarried. One third of the teenage pregnancies ended in abortion. This option would no longer exist in states which choose to outlaw abortion on the basis of fetal personhood.
 - **Women who are victims of rape or incest will be forced to carry the pregnancy to term or put themselves outside the protection of the law by seeking an illegal abortion.
6. Create chaos for state and local governments by changing innumerable existing laws in the areas of tort, inheritance, social services, etc., affecting "persons".

ARGUMENTS: 1. There is no consensus in our society about the personhood of the fetus prior to birth. To enact one particular definition of fetal personhood into law is to advance one theological belief not held by all, and to jeopardize the freedom of religion. In our pluralistic society we have an obligation to protect the right of individuals to follow the teachings of their own faith in matters of moral conscience.

2. Congress is given the power to enforce the 14th Amendment, not to redefine its terms. It ill behooves our highest governing body to use what even an opponent of Roe calls a "cute" legislative maneuver to bypass a Supreme Court decision simply because the support to overturn it by constitutional amendment does not exist.

3. S. 1741 sets a frightening precedent for setting aside constitutionally protected rights by simple majority vote, for undermining the role of the judiciary in protecting those rights, and for violating the Separation of Powers.



Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights

OF
MASSACHUSETTS
1326 Washington Street
West Newton, Massachusetts 02165
(617) 964-7640

GOALS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE RELIGIOUS COALITION FOR ABORTION RIGHTS OF MASSACHUSETTS (RCAR-MASS)

The purpose of RCAR-MASS is to educate and inform members of the religious community in Massachusetts about the issue of abortion.

The Coalition seeks to bring about an awareness of the abortion issue as one interwoven with the issue of religious freedom. In an effort to assist individuals and groups to explore their feelings and clarify their values with regard to the matter of abortion, the Coalition demonstrates its support for the right of each religious group to teach according to its own doctrine on reproductive choices, a right intrinsic to the concept of religious pluralism basic to American society. The Coalition urges that pregnancy-related decisions be made by individuals in accordance with their consciences, not by the dictates of the state.

RCAR-MASS works within the religious community to encourage and coordinate support for abortion rights, and works to demonstrate that religious pro-choice support to the general public and to lawmakers.

RCAR-MASS:

- provides speakers for church and civic groups
- develops workshops and educational forums on the abortion issue
- provides components and consultation for church or temple services
- distributes RCAR literature and educational material to supporters and to the general public
- assists in distribution of OPTIONS (the national RCAR newsletter)
- publishes a quarterly state newsletter
- provides booths and literature tables at conventions
- monitors legislation, and provides information on state and federal legislation and on court action to supporters and interested persons
- testifies at public hearings of the state legislature
- encourages religious community lobbying of state legislators and Members of Congress



*Bob -
please go in
Clericals
Thank*

Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights

OF
MASSACHUSETTS
1326 Washington Street
West Newton, Massachusetts 02165
(617) 964-7640

JOIN WITH MASSACHUSETTS CLERGY
IN RECOGNITION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
SUPREME COURT DECISION OF 1973 LEGALIZING
ABORTION

JOIN WITH LEADING MINISTERS AND RABBIS
TO SUPPORT SAFE, LEGAL ABORTION AS ONE OF THE
OPTIONS WHICH MUST REMAIN AVAILABLE TO ALL
WOMEN

WHEN: Friday, January 22nd, 1982
10:00 a.m. sharp

WHERE: Congregational House, 14 Beacon St., Boston
first floor conference room

WHAT: Religious leaders will assemble at 10:00
for a brief meeting at Congregational House.
At 10:30 those in attendance will form a
processional to the State House for a
press conference and meeting with key
state legislators in Gardner Auditorium.

Following the press conference at the State
House, clergy and laypeople attending this
commemorative event are encouraged to visit
their legislators at the State House.

CONTACT: Patsy Leibensperger, RCAR-Mass Coordinator
964-7640
Please help us plan for this event
by an RSVP.

RCAR-Mass
1326 Washington Street
West Newton, Mass. 02165

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Rev. Robert Wheatly
25 Beacon St.
Boston, MA 02108

THE REV. DR. GEORGE W. BASHORE
BISHOP, BOSTON AREA OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

STATEMENT FOR RELIGIOUS COALITION ON ABORTION RIGHTS NEWS CONFERENCE
Friday, January 22, 1982

The Social Principles of The United Methodist Church state, "Our belief in the sanctity of unborn human life makes us reluctant to approve abortion. But we are equally bound to respect the sacredness of the life and well-being of the mother, for whom devastating damage may result from an unacceptable pregnancy. . . .we recognize tragic conflicts of life with life that may justify abortion. . . .a decision concerning abortion should be made only after thoughtful and prayerful consideration by the parties involved, with medical, pastoral, and other appropriate counsel."

A resolution of the conflict of life with life is complex. A qualitative decision must be made between the claims of developing life in the womb and the rights of a responsible person made in God's image who is in living relationships with God and other human beings. At stake is the issue of religious freedom, for any attempt to enact the absolutist belief into the fundamental law of the land would impose one doctrine on all those who believe differently.

There is a distinction between the right to make a moral decision and the approval of abortion itself. We are not pro-abortion. In fact, there is sadness related to each occasion of abortion; however, at the same time we must fight to maintain legal choice. No outsider can be certain about the degree of distress in each case.

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STATEMENT FOR RELIGIOUS COALITION ON ABORTION RIGHTS NEWS CONFERENCE
Friday, January 22, 1982

Page 2

It is also important that actions by legislators not create one standard for the rich and another for the poor. We cannot accept a restriction of funding available to the poor, while the rich can afford to pay for abortions.

Pro-choice is pro-life, for it is concerned with the quality of life as a whole. Our Judeo-Christian tradition affirms life and its wholeness from beginning to end as a part of the divine design. Pro-choice is compassionate and seeks to be supportive of women and families. Pro-choice does not limit the right of anti-abortion advocates to teach that abortion is wrong. It does not impose a practice upon anyone. It provides for the decision to be made by the individual on the basis of conscience and religious principles in consultation with appropriate counsel.

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UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

of Churches and Fellowships in North America
25 Beacon St. Boston, MA 02108 (617) 742-2100
Department of Ministerial and Congregational Services

22 January 1982

The Reverend Joyce H. Smith
Director, Department of Ministerial
and Congregational Services
Unitarian Universalist Association
Boston, MA

This morning I speak as a mother, a minister, a woman and a denominational leader.

The right of access to a safe abortion is an issue with deep moral implications. No one wants an abortion. The moral imperatives which face a woman who is pregnant in 1982 are complex.

Our society is permeated with the constant and unrestricted use of sexual stimuli to sell such diverse products as movies and jeans, and yet we demand of even our impressionable young adolescents the discipline to restrict their response to such all-pervading stimuli.

Our world is full of real starvation and our cities filled with real hunger and privation, and yet we tell our pregnant women that their child, when born, will have food to eat and a warm home.

We compete as nations to build the most destructive nuclear weapons capable of killing us all and yet we tell our young that we love and respect human life.

As humans we are endowed with the ability to choose between conflicting values and to have insights into the results of our choices. The bearing and raising of children is a deep delight and a large responsibility which lasts for at least 20 years of loving parenting. It cannot be an enforced duty without potential harm to child and mother.

Because we believe in the right of every child to be wanted, loved and cared for during pregnancy and up to adulthood, we believe that each woman must be able to make the decision whether she is ready physically, mentally and emotionally to assume this important task of pre-natal and post-natal care.

Since 1963 the Unitarian Universalist Association at its General Assembly has strongly supported the right of women to have the choice of a medically safe and legally sanctioned abortion as a cherished religious and ethical freedom accorded by our Constitution and available to all women of child-bearing age whatever their financial circumstances. In 1980 we again affirmed that right and continue to do so.

January 22, 1982
The Reverend Nancy Rockwell
United Parish of Auburndale, Newton, Massachusetts

I am here today to bear witness to the Christian faith, conveyed in Old and New Testaments of the Bible, which makes it abundantly clear that the right to choose is forever cherished by the God who constantly cares for us but never forces us to abide in any situation unwillingly. All choice is ours always, as it was for Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, Mary, the disciples, and Mary Magdalene.

I am here today to bear witness to the teachings of Christianity, that the 'right to life' is ours only through our faith, as it is written in the proclamation of John the Baptist, "Do not begin to say that 'We have Abraham for our father,' for I tell you God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham."

I am here today to bear witness that God is always on the side of the poor, that God appears to us among the poor, and has specifically blessed the poor, commanding us to feed, clothe, and comfort them, and to preach good news to the poor.

I am here today to bear witness that the love of God is poured out for us for our forgiveness, for the setting free of captives and for the release of those who are imprisoned. Whatever constrains our freedom is against God, and whatever promotes it speaks for God.

For centuries women's bodies and the sexuality of women have been considered the focus of sin, but I am here today to proclaim that sin is primarily a spiritual condition, and the link of spiritual sin to any condition of the body can only be made between an individual and God. It is central to the Christian faith to proclaim that in Christ there is no condemnation, nor any separation from God's love. These promises belong to all people, including women who are poor, including women who are bound in the prison of unwanted pregnancy.

I am here today to bear witness that, for Christians, the mark of God is given in baptism, not at birth. Baptism is a blessing given to us as children which lasts all our lives. Baptism includes vows by parents and congregation to nurture and love each child in specific and lasting ways. Therefore we cannot bring forward for baptism children who will not be responsibly loved.

The United Church of Christ has a long record of supporting women's right to choose to bear children, and as a United Church of Christ minister I bring today that blessing and support, and a joyful Amen! to this celebration of our call to freedom.

January 22, 1982

STATEMENT

by

Rabbi Frank M. Waldorf
rabbi Temple Sinai, Brookline

Nine years ago today, the Supreme Court said that government shall not interpose itself into heart-rending decisions about abortions. It saddens me deeply that I and my colleagues must gather to reaffirm something so fundamental, so American as freedom of choice -- especially in an area as private and personal as abortion. It saddens me that resources must be squandered to continually restate that access to safe, affordable abortions is the right of every American woman. It saddens me that so-called Pro-Life Movement focuses its attention so narrowly and refuses to devote itself to the larger pro-life issues which all Americans must confront.

I challenge the so-called Pro-Life Movement to join with the pro-life religious leaders gathered here this morning. We need full strength to pursue public policies which will demonstrate that human life is sacred and precious in America.

Our group will not permit a ban on abortions. But, we will work with all our fellow citizens

- to feed malnourished women, infants and children; (WIC)
- to set up excellent day-care and learning environments for children;
- to educate pre-teens about sexuality and contraception so that unwanted pregnancies are less likely to occur;
- to promote the quality of family life by making wholesome athletic and recreational activities available to adults and young people.

That is the kind of pro-life agenda all Americans ought to be pressing.

Our opponents, those who feel compelled to ban all abortions, compare themselves to the tenacious abolitionists of the nineteenth century. Anti-abortionists flatter themselves and bring dishonor to our forbears. Anti-abortionists would enslave every unwilling mother to her unloved, unwanted fetus. They would enslave our entire population to ignorance by insisting that we hide certain medical knowledge developed within the last fifty years. Under a banner of morality and religion, this band of absolutists seeks to impose its view of goodness on all, even on conscientious people like ourselves who do not share their ethical outlook. In the name of the virtue, they diminish the quality of human life by calling us vile names, by sowing dissension among medical colleagues, by taunting and harassing individual women who decide that abortion is their least harmful path out of narrow, troubled straits.

Our group is resolutely pro-life.

We believe in the holiness of the individual human soul.

We affirm the sanctity of the family.

We perceive sexuality as a divine gift to be used responsibly.

With our help -- and with yours -- the forces of life and goodness shall prevail.

22 January 1982

Rev. Wendy E. Kellogg-Van Orden, Pastor

First Community United Methodist Church, Bedford

I am here today to join with my colleagues in celebration of the anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision for freedom of choice.

As a parish minister, I have counselled and supported women, of varied ages and economic means, caught in the agonizingly difficult struggle of a decision about their own lives and the potential within them.

As a United Methodist, I am proud to be a member of a church which, recognizing the seriousness of the issue of terminating a pregnancy and the moral dilemma involved, states in its Social Principles, adopted in 1980: "We support the legal option of abortion under proper medical procedures." (underlining my own)

As a new mother, I feel I am as pro-life as anyone else; that is, I am for the sacred quality of life that comes of wanted pregnancies and careful parenting.

As a woman, I affirm freedom of choice as a basic God-given right of all women to be free to make decisions about our own most basic possession -- our bodies. As long as the poor do not have equal access to reproductive freedom, we cannot talk of freedom of choice in this country.

As a citizen of the commonwealth of God, I urge us all to continue to support, with compassion, justice and freedom in this matter.

American Baptists and Abortion
Statement Prepared by the Reverend E. Spencer Parsons
American Baptist Churches of Massachusetts
88 Tremont Street, Boston, MA. 02108

At the national convention of American Baptists held in Boston in May, 1968, the denomination adopted a resolution calling for legislative and judicial action which would permit abortions to be performed by licensed physicians in the United States. That resolution anticipated by 5 years the January 22, 1973 decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which guaranteed the right of women in consultation with their physicians to obtain abortions.

Now more than 13 years later, the American Baptists have once again affirmed the moral and constitutional right of choice in the matter of abortion. This action was taken in December 1981 by the General Board of the American Baptist Churches, U.S.A., the most representative body of the denomination, by a vote of 118-19. As in 1968 the position was taken in the light of two fundamental principles: the sanctity of life and the freedom of the human conscience. While acknowledging that the two principles were sometimes in tension, nevertheless our denomination's historic commitment to the inviolability of a person's conscience and the right to self-determination led us to reaffirm the right of every woman in consultation with "her advisor, spiritual counselor, and physician to make a decision of conscience for or against abortion."

For us as American Baptists religious freedom presumes that the free exercise of conscience is fundamental to a free and moral society. Therefore we believe that every action which will ensure the full preservation of this fundamental right must be pursued with vigor. We believe that no government, public agency, or church should coerce any one to make a decision for or against abortion.

We view the present efforts by some churches, legislatures, and the Congress to undermine and negate the Supreme Court's decisions of 1973 as a gross violation of the principle of religious freedom and an unwarranted intrusion into the personal and family life of individuals.

From 1965-1973, as a member of the Clergy Consultation Service for Problem Pregnancies in Chicago, I personally counseled with more than 900 women and assisted those who chose to terminate their pregnancies to obtain safe abortions. During those years I became acutely aware of the pain and anguish women suffered because they had no place to turn for help. I also witnessed the horror of seriously sick and dying women being brought into the emergency rooms of two Chicago hospitals. These cases were the direct consequence of desperate efforts at self-abortion or after visiting an unqualified underground abortionist. To return to those days of deceit, intimidation, fear, bribery, arrest and the capricious threat of arrest, yes, and even of death is unthinkable to those who knew the plight of American women prior to the Supreme Court's decisions.

Let there be no misunderstanding, the present attack on abortion is an attack on the entire birth control movement in America. It is an attack on the health and freedom of American women, and finally an attack on the hallowed principle of the right of conscience in a free and democratic society.

Of course, not all American Baptists believe that a surgical abortion is a moral option for them, but like many millions in this country they believe that the right of choice belongs to those most directly involved, namely the pregnant woman.

If the Governor of this Commonwealth and the President of the United States are as concerned as they say they are for the welfare of the American family, they should stop invading the sanctity of the lives and homes of Americans and allow them to continue to make moral decisions within the integrity and intimacy of their own households. Whatever their private position with respect to abortion they should both pursue a public policy which defends the constitutional provisions for religious freedom and provides medical services for the benefit of the health of American women. Anything less than this is a betrayal of their public trust.

